THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have great pleasure in publishing in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* the Report, prepared by Captain Conder, of the Princes' visit to the Holy Land, for the Prince of Wales. It has been very kindly presented to the Committee for publication by His Royal Highness. It contains, first, the Report of the visit to Hebron, with a plan drawn by Captain Conder, from measurements taken by Sir Charles Wilson and himself, of the Mosque of Hebron, which differs in many important details from any previously published plans. The second part of the Report contains an account of the journey through the Holy Land, in which the Princes were accompanied by Captain Conder, whose knowledge of the country was placed at their service.

As might have been expected, the outbreak of hostilities in Egypt has deprived the Committee, for a time, of their officers. Captain Conder has been ordered to join the Staff of Sir Garnet Wolseley. Lieutenant Mantell is with his company. Before starting, Captain Conder was fortunately able to finish the revision of his proofs of the third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine," but all thought of publishing the results of the Eastern work must be abandoned until his return.

Besides these officers, Sir Charles Wilson is at Cairo, Colonel Warren at Suez, and Professor Palmer, who had accepted the office of Chief Interpreter, has been made prisoner by the Bedouin and carried up the country.

We have to regret the loss by death of one of the original members of the Society, namely, Professor Pusey, who never ceased to take the deepest interest in the work, and to support it by donations as well as by personal influence.

The following have joined the General Committee:—

BISHOP OF TRURO.
Rev. Dr. LÖWY.
Colonel LOCOCK, R.E.
Rev. W. J. STRACEY.

Major GROVER, R.E., has been appointed to a post in Portsmouth Dockyard, and has therefore resigned his membership of the Executive Committee.

The Committee have resolved to continue their efforts to maintain the general interest in this work, and hope that support will be continued, and funds accumulated, so as to render the resumption of work easy as soon as an opportunity is found, and the state of public feeling in the East allows. Meantime the *Quarterly Statement* will be continued.

The third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine" will be ready in November. Canon Tristram's work on the "Flora and Fauna" is approaching completion. The volume on Jerusalem will not be kept waiting for Colonel Warren, who has given the Secretary his notes to accompany and explain the plates.

The Old and New Testament Maps, reduced, will be ready about the middle of November. They will be issued to subscribers the same price as the modern reduced map.

There are a few copies of the "Survey" left, which the Committee are very desirous of placing in public libraries. They would be very much obliged if readers of the *Quarterly Statement* would send them names of libraries and librarians. A circular has been prepared giving full particulars of the work and its cost, which can be forwarded to any one on application.

Mr. Saunders's beautiful sections of the country, viz.: one from north to south, and four from east to west, have been laid down on two sheets, so that they can be had separately if desired. They are also laid down on his "Water-Basin" Map. The price of the sheets is 1*s.* 6*d.* each. The Jerusalem sheet of the great Map can also be had separately, at half-a-crown.

The income of the Society from all sources, from July 1st to September 19th, 1882, was £482 12*s.* 6*d.*

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

THE PRINCES' JOURNEY THROUGH THE HOLY LAND.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL,
September 6, 1882.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

SIR,

The Prince of Wales desires that I should forward you the accompanying report on the mosque at Hebron, which Captain Conder, R.E., has been good enough to draw up for His Royal Highness's information. His Royal Highness has great pleasure in now placing it at the service of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I have ventured to make a few notes of my own on Captain Conder's report, which, of course, you will take for what they are worth.

As soon as it was determined that the two Princes should visit Palestine, one of the first objects to which I turned my attention, was that their entrance to the mosque (and if possible to the cave) at Hebron should be secured. But on arrival at Jaffa, on March the 28th, I learnt from Mr. Consul Moore that the matter was by no means certain, or satisfactorily arranged.

Application had been made, by desire of the Queen, through the Foreign Office and Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, for the same facilities of access to all places of interest in Syria which were granted to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1862, including that to the mosque of Hebron.

The Sultan fully concurred, and gave explicit orders to this effect, and sent one of His Majesty's personal aides-de-camp (Colonel Ahmet Aly Bey) from Constantinople to be in attendance on their Royal Highnesses during their sojourn on Ottoman territory; and consequently, by His Majesty's orders, the deference shown to the Princes by all the Pachas, Governors, and their subordinates throughout the forty days' tour in Syria, and their readiness to permit the thorough examination of every site and everything considered worth visiting, whether small or great, were constant and unvaried.

But, with the curious ignorance that seems to prevail at the Porte respecting matters of detail at a distance from Constantinople, it was pointed out that it was impracticable now to travel from Jerusalem to Hebron, as the roads were not safe, and the Pacha at Jerusalem had not a sufficient force of military at his disposal to ensure the safe conduct of the Princes thither.

The road, however, between Jerusalem and Hebron is as secure as that between any two country towns in England, and no guards whatever are required for the passage. So this excuse was at once overruled, and the

Pacha was told we were going to Hebron as ordinary travellers, and that without any escort. Subsequently, after further telegraphic communications with the Foreign Office and with Constantinople, permission was telegraphed from the Porte for the Princes to visit the mosque at Hebron, and the cave, if the Pacha at Jerusalem considered he had sufficient military at his disposal to ensure their safety from fanatics or other disturbers of the public peace, there or on the road.

His Excellency Raouf Pacha accordingly started from Jerusalem on April 2nd, with such soldiers as he considered desirable, to make preparations at Hebron for the visit of the Princes, two days afterwards.

They left the camp at Jerusalem on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of April, and as Colonel Sir C. Wilson happened to be staying in the city, I invited him and Captain Conder to accompany our party, in order that this examination of the mosque and cave might be made as thorough as possible. We arrived in Hebron the same afternoon. Here began the series of striking contrasts between the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1862, as described by Dean Stanley in the appendix to his "Sermons in the East" (pp. 141–169), and that of His Royal Highness's two sons in 1882.

Instead of the obstacles and difficulties which Sûraya Pacha in 1862 threw in the way of the Prince of Wales, Raouf Pacha did all he could to facilitate everything for the two Princes in 1882.

Even before our tents were pitched he came at once to the camp, and explained how, during the day, he had been all over the mosque with the custodian, and that no entry to the cave could be discovered. His Excellency promised, however, that the next day's search should be as thorough as he or we could make it. Every hole and corner, every passage and door, should be opened and explored.

And in further contrast with what Sûraya Pacha stated to Dean Stanley (p. 160), "that he never thought of visiting the mosque of Hebron for any other purpose than that of snuffing the sacred air," Raouf Pacha, as a devout and strict Moslem, expressed his own earnest wish to penetrate the cave. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the liberality of sentiment, and of the straightforwardness and courtesy shown towards the Princes and party, which distinguished Raouf Pacha throughout the whole of this visit. He said that at one point only he hoped the Princes would stop short—the destruction or removal by main force of any of the stones of the building. Their Royal Highnesses assured him they hoped this last resort for obtaining entrance to the cave would not be necessary.

At half-past six on the following morning we left the camp with Raouf Pacha on foot. The inhabitants of the town showed every sign of pleasure at the visit of the Princes, and though a file of soldiers was drawn up at the entrance to the mosque, they really only served as a guard of honour, and were not at all necessary for the protection of Their Royal Highnesses. There was no "military occupation of the town," such as described by Dean Stanley on page 153.

The hereditary guardian of the mosque, and his attendants, met us at

the door, where shoes were removed, and conducted us straight through the eastern aisle into the nave of the church. At first he appeared evidently to be anything but well disposed towards the visit, and as he threw back, with the help of his attendants, the carpet that covered the point B in Captain Conder's plan, he did so with an air of dignity, despair, and resignation, as if he thought that the end of the world had arrived. His religious feelings, though suppressed, were most manifest on his countenance; he expected, I think, we should use crowbars to raise the stones, and was greatly relieved when we passed on, not having done so. The quiet persistency with which we examined the whole of the buildings was taken, I hope, as a sign of our reverence for the sacred places in his charge, and when some of the party in the afternoon revisited the Haram, he was quite pleasant and affable. His relief was great that the cave had not been entered, though our party had seen more of the mosque and buildings than any other had done since the place passed into Moslem hands.

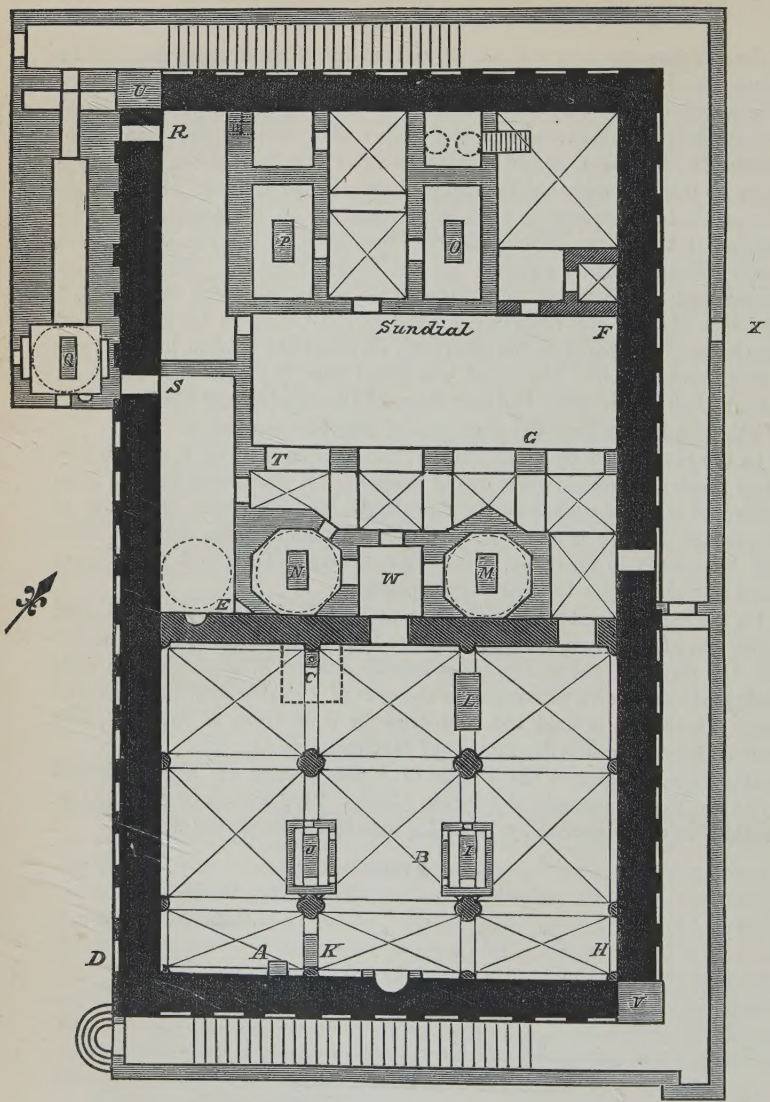
In the plan given by Dean Stanley, the mosque marked F, with tombs of two Moslem saints, is quite out of position. It was there inserted from memory of what is shown in the Jâwalîyeh Mosque, which opens out of the passage I have marked X in Captain Conder's plan, and the other chief inaccuracy in that plan is that the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are placed at right angles to their proper position.

On the 6th of April we left Hebron, and while riding up the rough road on the east of the town, looking back we saw, on the hillside to the south-west, low down in the valley, caves exactly similar in appearance to what Machpelah must have presented to the eyes of the patriarch in its natural state. There was a field too, and trees in it in front of the cave, that recalled the very words descriptive of Machpelah in Genesis.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales desires me also to forward to you the second memoir of Captain Conder, "On Points of Antiquarian Interest," newly observed by H.R.H.'s sons in Palestine and Syria.

I remain, Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN N. DALTON.

HEBRON HARAM.



Arab work

Herodian work

Christian work

Recent work

Scale 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 of Feet

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES TO THE HEBRON HARAM, ON 5TH APRIL, 1882.

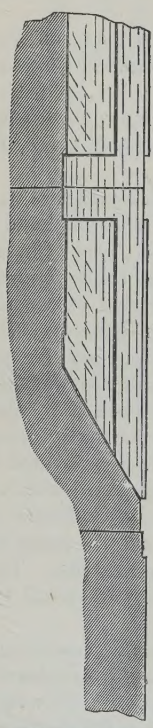
THEIR Royal Highnesses entered the enclosure at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, the 5th April, 1882, attended by Rev. J. Dalton, F.S.A.; Sir Charles Wilson, K.G.M.G., C.B., R.E.; Dr. Turnbull, R.N.; Mr. Noel Temple Moore, H.M.'s Consul for Palestine; Captain Conder, R.E.; Sub-Lieutenant F. B. Henderson, and Acting Sub-Lieutenant H. Evan-Thomas, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Bacchante."

The Royal party was accompanied by H.E. Raouf Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem. They visited every part of the enclosure, and remained in the Haram until 10 a.m. In the afternoon Their Royal Highnesses revisited the so-called tomb of Joseph, adjoining the enclosure, which they entered by an entrance not opened on the occasion of the morning visit. The results of these two visits add materially to the information previously obtained as to the Haram enclosure, and the accompanying plan, made on the return of the party to camp, presents considerable additions to those made on former occasions by Mr. James Fergusson and other explorers. It may be considered worthy of reliance as regards the general arrangements; and the walls of the church were accurately measured with a 2-foot rule, while the interior of Joseph's tomb was measured with a steel tape by the Princes themselves. The exterior walls of the enclosure are calculated from careful measurements of the buttresses, and the result agrees within a foot with that obtained by Mr. Fergusson in 1864. The remaining dimensions were obtained by pacing, and are only supposed to be approximately correct.

The Outer Walls.—These enclose a quadrangle measuring 197 feet in length, by 111 feet in width externally. At the four angles are buttresses, 9 feet wide on each face, and projecting 10 inches. Between these there are eight buttresses on the end walls, and sixteen buttresses on the longer side walls, each measuring 3 feet 9 inches in width, with intervals of 7 feet, and a projection of 10 inches. All these buttresses are 25 feet high, and they stand on a base wall which is flush with their faces. The top course of the base wall is bevelled between the buttresses, as shown in the attached section (No 1).

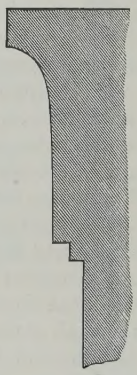
The masonry of which these walls are composed is the same throughout, including the base wall beneath the buttresses. The face of each stone (as in the older masonry of the Jerusalem Haram) is drafted on each of its four edges with a shallow and very carefully finished draft, generally about 4 inches wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$-inch projection of the face of the stone. The tooling of the draft is executed in exactly the same manner as in the

case of the Jerusalem Haram masonry, an adze or fine toothed instrument having been employed. A second band of similar tooling, about 4 inches wide, runs round the face of the stone, immediately within the draft, and the rest of the face is carefully finished with a pointed instrument struck with a mallet, exactly as in the Jerusalem drafted masonry. The average height of the courses is 3 feet 7 inches (as also at Jerusalem), the longest stone seen measured 24 feet 8 inches by 3 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The



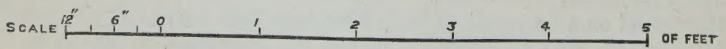
SECTION OF BUTTRESS.

No. 1.



INNER CORNICE.

No. 2.



whole character of the masonry at Hebron thus reproduces so closely that found at the base of the Haram walls at Jerusalem, that it seems certain that both structures must be referred to the same building epoch. The existence of projecting buttresses on the walls of the Jerusalem Haram, has been proved by the discovery of two still remaining *in situ*, in the north-west angle of that enclosure. They were first visited in 1873, and found to stand on a base wall, the top course bevelled between the

buttresses just as above described. In the Jerusalem example the buttresses were 4½ feet wide, 8 feet apart, and projecting 6 inches.

The thickness of the walls thus described at Hebron is 8½ feet between the buttresses (the same as that of the Jerusalem Haram walls). The stones on the inner face of the wall are dressed plainly, without any draft. A bold cornice crowns the wall inside on the west, as shown on the accompanying section (No. 2).

The buttresses have a simple projecting cap on the outside of the wall. The level of the cornice is 25 feet above that of the interior court, which therefore coincides with the level of the top of the base wall beneath the buttresses. The same arrangement has been shown to have existed in the Jerusalem Haram, the level of the top of the bevelled course of the base wall between the buttresses coinciding with the rocky floor of the inner court of that enclosure in the north-west corner.

The inner court at Hebron is about 15 feet above the level of the street, west of the Haram, and the total height of the ancient wall, from base to cornice, is thus on an average about 40 feet.

A modern wall with battlements, plastered and whitewashed, is built on the top of the ancient ramparts. On the north, south, and east, the old enclosure is surrounded by a second of more modern masonry, forming passages with two flights of steps as shown on the plan.

The only entrance to the enclosure is through a doorway in the longer or eastern wall, at a distance of 95 feet 7 inches from the south-east angle, as measured outside the ancient wall. To this doorway the passages from the two outer gates both lead.

The bearing of the quadrangle is 50° true bearing, as carefully observed with a prismatic compass. The mihrabs, or Moslem prayer recesses, inside the mosque, thus point almost south-east.

The Church.—This building occupies the southern part of the enclosure, and three of its outer walls are formed by the ancient ramparts. The interior length, measured with a rule, is 70 feet, the breadth is 93 feet, divided into a nave and two aisles of approximately equal width. The length is divided into three bays of unequal span, the southern—furthest from the entrance—being the narrowest. They measure respectively about 25 feet, 30 feet, and 15 feet.

The nave is lighted by a clerestorey with three windows on each side. There is a low-pitched gable at the west (or rather north-west) end, having a large window with a slightly pointed arch, above which is a round window.

The roof of the nave has a ridge lower than the top of the gable, so that the round window is now outside the roof.

The interior of the roof is groined, with flat ribs and a slightly pointed section. The aisle roofs are nearly flat outside, having only a slight inclination inwards towards the walls of the clerestorey. All the roofs are covered with lead. The nave vaulting is supported on the clustered columns of the four great piers, and the vaults of the aisles spring from brackets on the side walls. The engaged columns on the inner sides of the

piers flanking the nave, are carried up to the spring of the clerestorey vaulting. The shafts of the columns are of rather heavy appearance, the capitals are chiefly adorned with thick leaves and small volutes of mediæval character, as shown in the accompanying sketch (No. 1). Another character of capital, of semi-Byzantine appearance, also occurs, as sketched. The six clerestorey windows, the large west window, and the smaller end window in the southern (or south-eastern) wall, are all pointed with a low point. Heavy external buttresses occur between the side windows. The roof of the transept, or south-eastern bay of the church, is carried across at right angles to the ridge of the gable, with a ridge at the same level, forming a T-shaped ridge, and extending to the outer walls of the aisles.

The Cave.—The most important feature of the Haram is the great cave which exists beneath the floor of the enclosure. This was not entered by the Royal party, because it was found that the only known entrances are three (A, B, C,) existing in the floor of the church itself, and these are never now opened, and could only be reached by breaking up the flags of the flooring, a proceeding which would have been regarded as a desecration of the sanctuary by the Moslem custodians. The cave is described, by the Sheikh of the Mosque, as being double, and this agrees with the signification of the original name Machpelah (מכפלה "division in half"), applied to the cave in which the patriarchs were buried (Gen. xxiii). In later writings, as will be shown at the end of this report, the cave is always described as being double, and in the middle ages it was known as Spelunca Duplex ("the double cave").

The situation of two entrances was shown, as marked at the points A and B on the plan. The entrance at A was closed with stone slabs clamped with iron. These were covered with matting, and a small cupola, supported on four slender pillars, has been constructed over the spot. This entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At the point B is the entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging forming the floor of the church, and also covered over with matting and carpets,[1] but there is no shrine or cupola above it.

At the point C, close to the west wall of the church, is a shaft, covered by a stone, like those at the mouths of wells in Palestine, rising above the level of the church floor. The hole in this stone is rather over a foot in diameter, and a lamp was lowered through it, by aid of which a chamber was seen below, under the floor of the church.[2] The floor of the

[1] The whole floor of the mosque is so covered, and without their complete removal it is impossible to say whether the surface does not contain other clamped entrances, or even portions of the live rock protruding from beneath.—J. N D.

[2] The first lamp (an oil one) that was lowered gave a feeble light, and was only lowered a short distance. But at the bidding of the Pacha a larger and brighter lamp, with candles and a longer chain, was brought. This fully

chamber appeared to be about 15 feet below that of the church, and the chamber was square, and seemed to be about 12 feet either way, with vertical walls apparently covered with plaster. All four walls were well seen, and in that towards the south-east a doorway could be distinctly perceived, which has never previously been described. It is said to lead to the western cave, and it closely resembled the square doorways which give access to ancient rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The floor of the chamber was thickly strewn with sheets of paper, which have been inscribed by the Moslems with supplications to the patriarchs, and thrown down the shaft through the well mouth in the church floor.

There were no means of ascertaining whether the walls of the chamber were of rock or of masonry, but the roof appeared to be in part at least of rock, sloping down on the north from the mouth of the shaft, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner, a piece of rock appeared to project across the angle of the chamber. It should be noted that there did not appear to be any access to this chamber, other than that through the square-headed doorway from the cave, already described. The other walls were seemingly solid throughout.

If, therefore, there ever existed any entrance to the cave from outside the Haram, or from the courtyard of the church, distinct from the two entrances A and B in the floor of the church, as above described, it would seem probable that the communication has been closed, by building up the walls of the small chamber just described visible through the shaft at C.[1] It also seems probable, from the situation and size of this antechamber, that the double cave lies entirely within the limits of the church, to the south of the door seen in the antechamber wall, and that there is no cavity extending under the floor of the inner court north-west of the church. It appears, therefore, very doubtful whether any entrances other than those at A and B exist, or have ever existed, in the northern part of the Haram. The cave probably resembles many of the rock-cut sepulchres of Palestine, with a square antechamber carefully quarried, and two interior sepulchral chambers, to which access has been made at a later period through the roofs. It is, however, possible that the antechamber may be a later addition, and partly built of masonry.

illuminated the whole vestibule beneath, and by its aid the door, walls, floor, and sides of this antechamber were clearly seen.—J. N. D.

[1] This may have been done when the level of the inner courtyard was raised to its present height. This courtyard *probably* represented originally "the field of Mamre before the cave" (Gen. xxiii, 17), and was originally entered, as I suppose, from the exterior by an entrance at R, now blocked by the buildings which are subsequently described in the memoir, and which the Princes were the first to examine. The exterior and interior of this would thus be on the same level in Herodian times. When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with *débris* of Byzantine Church, &c.), raised 15 feet, the present approaches round the exterior of the Haram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem.—J. N. D.

In connection with the question of the cave, it should be noted that at the point D, outside the Haram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on the level of the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, in which case it probably communicates with the inside of the western cave, which would thus extend up to the wall at the south-west angle of the Haram.

The Cenotaphs.—The enclosure contains six large cenotaphs, standing on the floor of the church and of the adjoining buildings. They are supposed by the Moslems to stand vertically above the actual graves of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. The monuments of Isaac and Rebecca are within the church; those of Abraham and Sarah occupy octagonal chapels in the double porch, or narthex, before the church doors, and those of Jacob and Leah are placed in chambers near the north end of the Haram.

The six monuments are thus equi-distantly disposed along the length of the enclosure, but it appears to be very doubtful whether they have any connection with the *loculi* or *sarcophagi*, which are described by early writers as existing in the cave itself.

Isaac and Rebecca have their cenotaphs, at the points (J and I) shown on the plan, within the church. They lie in the direction of the length of the nave, Isaac on the side of the right aisle. They are thus not buried in accordance with Moslem custom, as they would in such case lie at right angles to their actual position, on their right sides, with their faces turned to the Mihrab, or prayer recess.[1] The same remark applies to the four other cenotaphs, and to the two cenotaphs of Joseph without the Haram.

The cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca are enclosed in masonry shrines of oblong form, with gable roofs, the ridges of which are about 12 feet above the church floor. The walls and roofs of the shrines are of well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of yellowish and reddish limestone, of the kind now known as Sta Croce marble, found in the vicinity. At the gable ends are brass crescents. In the sides and roofs are windows, through which the cenotaphs are visible. A door gives access to each shrine, and is of wood, adorned with various patterns in brass work. The windows have heavy iron bars. The cenotaphs are covered with richly embroidered silk hangings, and have cloths hung as canopies above them. Manuscript copies of the Koran, in book form, are placed all round the cenotaphs, lying open on low wooden rests. The coverings of

[1] All this seems easily accounted for by the probability that the present shrines of Isaac and Rebecca occupy the positions given them by the Christians, on each side of the approach to the High Altar, which stood in front of what is now the mihrab. The shrines of the other patriarchs were doubtless also once within the church, and parallel with these, and thus really over the caves. They could not, as they do now, have stood outside, since the buildings there are all of later date and Arab work. The perforated entrance at A would thus be at the side of the High Altar, and that at B immediately in front of the altar steps, one into each cave.—J. N. D.

Isaac's cenotaph are green, and those of Rebecca's crimson, the embroidered inscriptions being in silver and gold. The same colours are used in the other cenotaphs—all the males having the deep green, which is the sacred Moslem colour, and all the females having crimson coverings. Arabic inscriptions on silver plates are fastened to the windows and doors of the shrines thus described.

Other details of the Church.—The *Mihrab*, or prayer recess of the Moslems, has been cut out of the end wall of the ancient enclosure. It is flanked by slender pillars, with richly carved capitals of Gothic design, and by two wax torches. Above the mihrab is a window of stained glass, resembling those in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which date about 1528 A.D. The glass in this instance has, however, a peculiarity in the large opaque discs, which are arranged, in the form of an hour-glass, as a border to the richly coloured pattern of the main design.

It appears probable that the mihrab was cut out by the Moslems at a comparatively late period; the marble veneer is in late style, and the recess is too small to have been intended for an apse. The original church had probably no apses, for, although this is very unusual in Crusading buildings, it was in the present instance impossible to form apses at the ends of the nave and aisles, without destroying the great rampart wall which constitutes the eastern (or south-eastern) end of the church.

In one corner of the left aisle, at the point H, a Greek inscription is built into the wall. It has been painted red, and was copied some time since, and published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" (vol. xvi, p. 337). It contains an invocation to Abraham to bless and protect certain individuals at whose expense it was erected, and probably dates about the time of Justinian.

The *Mimbar*, or pulpit (*K* on the plan), stands on the right of the mihrab. It is beautifully constructed of cabinet work, resembling that in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem. This appears to be the pulpit mentioned by Mejr ed Dîn as bearing the date 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.), which was given to the mosque by Saladin in 1187 A.D., after the capture of Ascalon. The similar pulpit at Jerusalem was also brought from Damascus, where it was made for Saladin.

The *Merhala*, or reading platform, at the point L on the plan, is similar to those in other mosques intended for the public reading of the Koran.

The walls of the church are veneered with marble inside to a height of 6 feet. Above this casing runs a band of Arabic inscriptions.[1] The form of the characters seems to show that these texts are not of great antiquity, and they are probably not earlier than the end of the 12th century. Above this, again, the walls are whitewashed, and the name of

[1] These inscriptions are made on plaster, which is laid over a miniature imitation of arcade work in tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl. In many places pieces of this plaster have fallen off, and reveal the work beneath, which is very similar to that we afterwards saw in the great mosque at Damascus. In the vestibule which I have marked W (outside the shrine of Abraham), it is nearly complete all round the four sides.—J. N. D.

God, with that of Mohammed, Aly, and other early heroes of Islam, are painted in black, on medallions attached to the walls. The piers and pillars are whitewashed, and the capitals are painted yellow. Above the marble veneer, in places, the remains of a mosaic of small designs, with mother-of-pearl inlet, are seen, and a good deal of this also remains on the wall immediately outside the central entrance to the church.

On the west side of the right aisle a channel is formed in the floor, close to the wall, leading to a grating in the corner. This is said to be used in washing the hands by the Moslem worshippers.

The Porch or Narthex.—This is double, as shown, and vaulted with a groined roof resting on heavy piers. It includes the two octagonal chapels in which are the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah. From the irregular manner in which these are built in, it would appear probable that the chapels are older than the roofing and piers of the porch. The whole of these structures are evidently later than the church itself. A flat lead covers the porch, and three small lead domes rise from it over the two cenotaphs and over the vaulted chamber towards the west, hereafter to be described. The entrance doors of the church are concealed, and the whole effect of the façade is spoiled by these additions.

The *Shrine of Abraham* was entered. The cenotaph is about 8 feet long, and 8 feet high, and 4 feet broad. It is covered with a green and white silk covering, embroidered with Arabic texts in gold thread. Two green banners, with gold lettering, are placed leaning against the cenotaph. The entrance to the shrine is closed by open-barred gates, stated to be iron plated with silver, and bearing an inscription in silver letters, which gives the date 1259 A.D., with an invocation to Abraham. The pattern of these gates, with heavy globular sockets for the cross-bars, is exactly that found at Damascus and elsewhere, in the best Arab ironwork. The walls of the shrine or chapel are cased with marble, and have gilt inscriptions in Arabic letters running at the top of the wall near the springing of the dome. Silver lamps and ostrich-shells are hung before the cenotaph, and copies of the Koran, on low wooden rests, surround it.

A fine window of stained glass, similar to that already described in the church, lights the shrine from the side of the porch ; round the coloured design are discs of opaque glass, as in the former window, the border in this case consisting of nine discs, arranged up the sides and round the head of the window, which is semi-circular.

The *Shrine of Sarah* was not entered. It resembles that of Abraham, with open-barred gates and a domed roof. The coverings of the cenotaph are of crimson silk, with gold inscriptions on a black ground, on squares let into the crimson.

The piers and arches of the porch are faced with well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of buff and red stone. On the pier, at G, is an inscription in Arabic, stating that the porch was restored in 1172 A.H., by the then governor of Damascus (1755 A.D.). At the west end of the porch is a small *sebil*, or water cistern, for ablutions.

The Courtyard.—This is the only part of the interior of the Haram

which is open to the air. On the south-east, the arches of the porch (which are pointed) open upon it. At the opposite side are the buildings enclosing the shrines of Jacob and Leah. On the other two sides the court is bounded by the ancient ramparts, and by the vaulted chamber or mosque in front of Joseph's tomb.

On this side the wall is formed by archways filled in with masonry. The arches are pointed, and the ashlar is in alternate reddish and yellowish bands, as before noticed in the arches of the porch. The north (or north-west) wall is of small masonry, well dressed, and with a tooling finished with a fine adze, but without any mason's marks, and having all the appearance of good Arab work. On the inside of the ancient rampart, at the point F, about 5 feet from the ground, is a short Greek inscription, or graffita, evidently cut after the stone was *in situ*. The form of the letters is of Byzantine period.

NENOV
ABPAMIOV
MANOVC

The constructions, coloured brown, in the corner of the courtyard, appear to be more modern than any other part of the building. A straight joint divides this part of the wall of the court from the rest. Steps lead up to a small chamber at a higher level. The character of the masonry is poorer, and looks more modern.

The chambers at the north (or north-west) end of the court were, for the first time, thoroughly examined during the Royal visit, and the new plan here differs considerably from those formerly attempted.

The *Shrines of Jacob and Leah* are visible through open-barred gates from the passage between them, which has a groined roof in two bays, The cenotaphs, with green and red hangings respectively, resemble those already described. There is a small chamber behind Jacob's shrine which was entered, but proved to be only a lumber room. The corresponding chamber behind the shrine of Leah contains two circular cells or copper-like hollows, which are said to be now used for storing oil. The shafts in their roofs were seen in the floor of a chamber reached by steps from the vaulted apartment in the north-east angle of the Haram, as shown on the plan. The floor of this upper chamber is 8 feet above the level of the courtyard.

The long chamber, reached from the door in the north-west angle of the court, is empty. From it steps ascend, as shown, to the minaret, which stands on the corner of the ancient rampart (at U). A second minaret stands at the opposite or south-east angle (at V).

In the north-west angle of the long chamber a wooden door was broken open (at R). It was found to lead, through the thickness of the ancient rampart wall, into a vaulted chamber with groined, pointed arches, having a very broad, flat rib. The chamber measured about 50 feet by 20 feet, one side being formed by the outer face of the ancient rampart. It stands upon substructions, forming a passage to the lower tomb of Joseph, subsequently

explored. Near[1] the north end wall was a structure which at first sight looked like the head of a stairway with the steps covered over. It is said to be a place now used for melting lead. No remains of any staircase were found in afterwards exploring the passage beneath. Large windows looked down from the chamber thus described into the enclosure of the *Kala'h*, or fortress, which has been built against the Haram on this side. The chamber, with other vaulted substructures built against the Haram wall, dates probably from the later Moslem period after the Crusades.

The Shrine of Joseph adjoins the exterior chamber just described. It is reached through a vaulted gallery, in the corner of which is the shrine of Adam's footprint. The cenotaph of Joseph is covered with pale green silk, having white lettering. The chamber has a lantern of octagonal shape, surmounted by a dome covered with lead. There is a second square chamber beneath, with a domed roof, containing also a cenotaph covered with green silk. This is entered by a passage just within the north gate of the Haram—explored in the second or afternoon visit by the two Princes themselves. The lower tomb is on the level of the base of the ancient rampart wall, or 15 feet below the upper cenotaph, entered from the interior of the Haram.

The whole of the workmanship of the shrine of Joseph, and of the other exterior chambers adjoining the Haram, appears to be of Arab origin. The chamber adjoining the upper shrine of Joseph has a flat lead roof, on the same level with that from which the small dome above the shrine now springs.

The back wall of the lower chamber, containing the second cenotaph of Joseph, was ascertained by careful measurement to have a thickness of 2 feet 2 inches. It covers the ancient rampart wall, and has been conjectured to conceal an entrance through the old wall at the level of its base, leading to the cave under the church. The wall is plastered and whitewashed, and if such an entrance ever really existed, no signs of it are now visible.[2]

The Prophet's Footprint.—This sacred footprint, variously called that of

[1] Not "near," but projecting from. The structure consists of two small walls of smooth cut stone, about 3 feet high, jutting out for about the same distance from the north wall of the chamber. Lead, we were told, is sometimes melted there for mending the roof, but the place originally was not made at all for such a purpose, and there is no reason why lead should be melted in that particular spot rather than anywhere else.—J. N. D.

[2] It is scarcely to be expected that the entrance in the Haram wall would be visible through an Arab-built wall over 2 feet thick, in front of it, and erected intentionally to conceal it. If the original entrance was not here in Christian times, where it would be most suitable and convenient from the castle, when the level of the inner courtyard was 15 feet lower than now, it is difficult to see where else it could have been. The whole Haram formed a bulwark to, and was embodied as part of, the castle; and the present entrance on the outside of the castle by the Jâwaliyeh Mosque without any flanking protection would have been most unnatural, especially at such a high level. The present arrange-

Adam, or of the prophet (قدم النبي Kadam en Neby), is preserved in one corner of the vaulted gallery leading to the upper tomb of Joseph, in the end wall of which a *mihrab*, or prayer recess, has been constructed close to the footprint.

The relic, which is said to have been brought from Mecca some 600 years ago, consists of a slab of stone with a sunk portion resembling the impression of a human foot of ordinary size. It is enclosed in a recess at the back of the shrine of Abraham, and placed on a sort of shelf about 3 feet from the floor. Such relics occur in many other Syrian mosques, as, for instance, in the Dome of the Rock, and in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem, where the footprints of Mohammed and of Christ respectively are shown. There is a small lead dome above the end of the vaulted gallery close to this last shrine.

Discoveries.—The principal new discoveries due to the Royal visit, as detailed in the preceding pages, are—

1st. The discovery of the position of the entrance B, said to lead to the eastern cave. The entrance A has been mentioned by former explorers.

2nd. The description of the appearance of the antechamber, and the discovery of the door visible leading thence to the cave within.

3rd. The exploration of the passage leading to the lower cenotaph of Joseph, and the discovery of this cenotaph, which has not been previously described.

4th. The exploration of the various chambers adjoining the courtyard, which have never been correctly represented on former plans.[1]

All that now remains to be done on the occasion of any future visit is to obtain access into the cave itself. This cave is, however, never visited by Moslems, and it has probably not been entered for 700 years at least. Access might be obtained either by opening one of the two entrances A or B, now identified, or possibly by removing the stone over the shaft at C, and lowering a ladder into the antechamber. The latter would probably be the most expeditious method, but either would be regarded by the Moslems with extreme repugnance.[2]

ment of entrances makes the Haram an adjunct of the Jâwalîyeh Mosque; the Christian arrangement made it an adjunct of the castle, and probably utilised the original Herodian entrance. But nothing except excavations in the interior can ever set this question at rest. Sir C. Wilson's suggestion, at page 214, coincides with the above notion, that the original Herodian and Christian entrance to the Haram was at this corner.—J. N. D.

[1] Fifthly, we ascended the minaret at the north-west corner, and spent some time on the parapets of the Haram, and thus had the best means of verifying the accuracy of the subjoined plan of the area. There is a walk all round the parapets of the Haram, and communication thus with the minaret at the south-east corner, to which we did not perceive any door from below, neither was such to be expected, since the minaret was built on the solid Herodian wall at a much later period. Access to the minaret at U was obtained by a staircase from the roof.—J. N. D.

[2] Such repugnance would be, however, only temporary; as soon as entrance

Historical Notices of the Haram.

It is remarkable that no historical notice is known to exist of the building of the great quadrangle surrounding the sacred cave. The cave of Machpelah is not noticed in the Bible, save in connection with the burial of the patriarchs, and there is no reason to believe that any building was erected on the spot before the captivity.

In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin, 53*a*) Hebron is said to have been called Kirjath Arba (*i.e.*, city of *the four*, cf. Gen. xxiii, 2, and Neh. xi, 25), because four patriarchs with their wives were there buried, including Adam and Eve. This tradition is continually repeated by later writers, including Jerome. Arculphus, in 700 A.D., speaks of the tomb of Adam as north of the others, and many mediæval writers mention the cave near Hebron, in which Adam and Eve are supposed to have lived.

In the 12th century, however, the tradition appears to have undergone a change (probably because the tomb of Adam was then shown under Calvary).

Sæwulf, in 1102 A.D., mentions the tomb of Joseph as existing at the extremity of the castle, possibly where now shown.

It may be inferred from the wording of a passage in Josephus ("Antiq.," II, viii, 2), that some of the later Jews believed Joseph to have been buried with his ancestors at Hebron, an idea originating perhaps in jealousy of the Samaritans, who possessed the real tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 32).

A curious tradition concerning the death of Esau is also noticed in the Talmud (Sotah i, 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Hushin, son of Dan, cut off Esau's head and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. The Arab historian, Jelâl ed Dîn, in the 15th century, repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at Sia'îr, north of Hebron.

Josephus ("Wars," IV, ix, 7) speaks of the monuments (μνημεια) of the patriarchs at Hebron as existing in his own times, "the fabrics of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner."

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) is the next to describe the site. He speaks of a square *memoria* of marvellously beautiful masonry, in which were placed the three patriarchs and their three wives. It appears probable that he alludes to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, which are therefore generally referred (by Mr. James Fergusson and other authorities) to a period earlier than the Christian era.

had been once effected and no one was one whit the worse, the feeling would be rather one of admiration, for those who had penetrated the interior in a reverent manner, than enmity towards them. This has been shown more than once before in opening up other sacred spots. Raouf Pacha said that repairs to the fabric were about to be undertaken, and that it was his full determination then, if possible, to penetrate to the cave if he found any means of entry.—J. N. D.

In 383 A.D., Sta Paula visited the "cells of Sarah," and the resting-place of Isaac, but no notice is made by St. Jerome in this narration of the other patriarchs. In connection with this account it should be noted that the Moslems attach far more importance to the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca, at the present day, than to those of the other patriarchs at Hebron.[1] Isaac receives among them the title of "jealous," and is thought to strike with blindness or death any who approach his shrine. The shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are the only two which seem probably to stand over the actual caves, and Jelâl ed Dîn says that Jacob was buried "before the entrance to the sepulchral cave," which agrees with the present position of his cenotaph, and with what has been already said as to the probable extent of the cave.

In 600 A.D., Antoninus Martyr describes a Basilica of quadrangular form, with an inner atrium open to the sky. Jews and Christians then entered by different gates to burn incense at the shrine.

In 700 A.D., Bishop Arculphus gives a very detailed account of the site. He mentions that "contrary to the usual custom the patriarchs lie with their feet to the south and heads to the north, and they are enclosed by a square low wall." This would apply to the present position of the cenotaphs, and possibly to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, before the modern battlemented wall was built above. "Each of the tombs is covered" (Arculphus continues) "with a single stone worked somewhat in the form of a church, and of a light colour for those of the three patriarchs, which are together."[2] This seems to indicate sarcophagi such as are found throughout Palestine belonging to the Roman period, or possibly cenotaphs like those at present existing. "Arculphus also saw poorer and smaller monuments of the three women, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, who were here buried in the earth."

[1] They are the only ones now shown within the mosque, and I believe the oldest of the six, and probably the same or like those which stood there in the Crusading and Byzantine churches They would be each side of the approach to the High Altar; and the hearse-like canopies of stone that surround these two cenotaphs, with their open work, as represented on the plan, resemble those found in Christian buildings, and are altogether different to anything over the other four shrines. These stand, therefore, probably *in situ*. In the Christian arrangement of the church an altar probably stood at the end of each side-aisle: Abraham's in the south-east, Isaac's in the centre, and Jacob's in the south-west. This arrangement of separate altars would resemble that which existed in the church on Tabor, where Moses and Elijah each had a separate altar and side chapel.—J. N. D.

[2] The three patriarchs' shrines *seem* then to have been shown to Arculphus inside the church, Isaac where he is now, and perhaps Abraham where Rebecca's shrine now is, and Jacob nearer the door, to the south of C, "before the entrance to the cave," as Jelâl-ed-Dîn describes. The three women's shrines were then outside, apparently in the courtyard. Afterwards (1102) they were brought more comfortably inside, and in a more Christian manner each lady was placed by her husband. Rebecca would repose with Isaac under his

In 1102 A.D., Sæwulf further describes the Haram :—"On the eastern side of Hebron are the monuments of the holy patriarchs, of ancient workmanship, surrounded by a very strong castle, each of the three monuments being like a great church, with two sarcophagi placed in a very honourable fashion within, that is, one for the man and one for the woman. But the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel, as he charged them, brought with them out of Egypt, are buried more humbly than the rest, as it were, at the extremity of the castle."

Among Crusading writers, John of Wurtzburg (1100 A.D.), Theodoricus (1172 A.D.), and Jacques of Vitry (1220 A.D.), still speak of the fourth tomb as being that of Adam.[1]

In 1100 A.D. Hebron was bestowed by Godfrey of Bouillon on Gerhard of Avennes, as a fief. In 1167 the town was made the see of a Bishop, having been previously only a priory (*see* "William of Tyre," xx, 3). In 1187 A.D. the place was taken by Saladin. Hebron is rarely mentioned by Crusading historians, but there is no reason to doubt that it remained for eighty-eight years in the hands of the Christians ; and the erection of a church would probably have taken place during this period.[2]

Mejr-ed-Dîn the Arab historian, writing in 1495 A.D., speaks of the mosque at Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Rûm*), by which terms the Greek Christians are intended. Jelâl ed Dîn about the same time says that the Moslems destroyed the church when Saladin took Hebron, but it appears probable that the destruction, as in other cases, only extended

present canopy, Sarah with Abraham in that which is now called Rebecca's, and Leah and Jacob in a similar one nearer the door of the church, but now removed. Of the two entrances to the church, that in the centre was probably the one for the Christians, and the other, on the north-east, for the Jews, who would thus readily obtain access by this side door to the left aisle, and so to the spot where it is suggested that Abraham's shrine then stood. It seems also possible that the two entrances (R and S) through the Haram wall may also have been thus appropriated, one for the Christians and the other for the Jews. That these two entrances should have been afterwards broken through the thickness of the Haram wall, merely as doors to the later shrine of Joseph and to the adjoining empty chamber, seems very improbable. The eastern cave, in which Benjamin of Tudela describes the six tablets to be, is that under B. The aisle above this would be the most revered, and at its end stood, as above suggested, the altar of Abraham ; and the invocatory graffiti inscriptions, both at H and F, would seem to endorse the belief that this was the side of the church and enclosure more peculiarly invested with his tutelage.—J. N. D.

[1] This fourth tomb would thus take the vacant place at L, and the arrangement would be very neat : Adam and Eve reposing at L (as Arculphus describes Adam's tomb, to the north of the others), Abraham and Sarah at I, Isaac and Rebecca at J, and Jacob and Leah near C.—J. N. D.

[2] On almost the same lines probably as the previously existing Byzantine church over the caves, portions of which may even have worked into the present church, some of the capitals in which are of "semi-Byzantine character" (p. 3).—J. N. D.

to the desecration of the altars, and of the images and pictures of the Christians (and rearrangement of the shrines).

The most circumstantial account of the cave existing is that given by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in 1163 A.D. He visited the Haram during the period of the Christian occupation, and speaks of it as "a large place of worship called St. Abraham," a title which is commonly applied to the Haram by the Christian writers of the 12th century. "The Gentiles" (or Christians), he writes, "have erected six sepulchres in this place" (probably the existing cenotaphs[1]) "which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew comes, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hands the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, one opposite the other.

"All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved; thus upon that of our father Abraham we read

זה מבר אברהם אב־נו
על יוהשלום.

'This is the tomb of Abraham our father, upon him be peace,' and so on that of Isaac and all the other sepulchres. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchres continually, both night and day, and you there see tubs filled with the bones of Israelites; for unto this day it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of their forefathers and to leave them there."

Tubs or arks like those mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin are described in the Talmud, and many of them have been found, bearing rude Hebrew inscriptions, in tombs near Jerusalem. They are generally now called osteophagi; and the mention of such a detail in connection with the Hebron cave seems to render it probable that the account is genuine, and that Rabbi Benjamin actually obtained admission to the interior. He appears to have entered through the existing antechamber, but no steps are now found in this chamber, so far as can be ascertained by looking down from above. The inscriptions on the tombs, if they really existed, were probably not of great antiquity.

After the Moslem conquest it appears to have become very difficult for even Jews to enter the cave. In 1210 A.D., Rabbi Samuel bar Simson

[1] Scarcely so. More probably, as described by Sæwulf, the six were in three pairs, each pair under its own canopy, and all within the church, and more or less over the caves. But even then they were only shown as cenotaphs, not as actually containing the bodies of the patriarchs and their wives. These were, of course, in the vault or cave below.—J. N. D.

claims, however, to have visited the interior. "We descended," he writes in his itinerary, "by twenty-four steps, very narrow and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years since (*i.e., circa* 600 A.D.). It is near the cavern." This account is too confused to be of much value. (By the Holy House he appears to mean the church.)

In the "Jichus ha Aboth," a tract, dating from 1537 A.D., the Haram is also described: "An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to King David, on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall;[1] they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior."

From the Arab historians Makrizi and Mejr-ed-Dîn, we learn that the buildings round the courtyard were erected in 732 A.H. (1331 A.D.), by the Mameluke Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun, and that the tomb of Joseph was built by the Emîr Jaghmuri in 1393 A.D. The Arab accounts of the cave are untrustworthy and unimportant. In 1322 Sir John Maundeville says that no Christian might enter the Haram. (It had then been made an adjunct of the mosque by the erection of Joseph's tomb in front of the original entrances.)

Conclusions as to the Dates of the Buildings.

1. The rampart walls are evidently all of one period up to the height of the cornice. The style is (as has been shown) exactly similar to that of ancient masonry of the Jerusalem Haram, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the two enclosures are to be referred to the same period. A careful consideration of the history and architecture of the Jerusalem Haram appears to lead to the conclusion that its ramparts, as now standing, were first erected by Herod the Great, and that the drafted masonry cannot be considered to date earlier than about the time of the Christian era. This view has been carefully elaborated by the Duc du Vogüé, and other authorities, and it agrees with the conclusions reached by Mr. James Fergusson as to the date of the Hebron Haram walls, his argument being based on historical rather than on architectural grounds. The Haram existed in the 4th century A.D., but there is no notice of any such structure in the Hasmonean or any earlier period. The only period between these limits to which it can be referred with any probability is the great building epoch of the reign of Herod the Great.

2. The character of the architecture of the church is closely similar to that of the Crusading churches of Palestine. The clustered columns, with the shafts carried up the clerestorey walls, and supporting ribbed groins, resemble those of the church of St. John at Samaria, dating between 1150 and 1180 A.D. The capitals resemble those of the Samarian church,

[1] This may be the same hole described above, close to the southern entrance, resembling the little window in the bevelled stones pictured at page 200 of the second volume of the "Memoirs."—J. N. D.

and also those of the church at Bîreh, north of Jerusalem, which was completed by the Templars in 1146 A.D. The general style, and the roofing, closely resemble the details of the church of St. John at Gaza, dating about 1152 A.D. The pointed arches of the windows indicate that the church does not belong to the earliest Crusading period; as the round arch was used for half a century after the Crusaders took Jerusalem. It appears, however, quite safe to attribute the building of the Hebron church to the latter half of the 12th century, probably about the year 1167 A.D., when the town became a bishopric. The low pitch of the roof may, perhaps, indicate that it has been rebuilt at a later period; but, on the other hand, the vaulting of the clerestorey and aisles is much more like Crusading than Arab work.

3. The earliest Arab work appears historically to belong to the year 1331 A.D.; the tomb of Joseph to 1393 A.D., and the outer gates, with the passages and flights of steps, which have the character of the best Arab work, to the same period—the 14th century, during which, fine buildings were erected by Moslems in Jerusalem, Damascus, and other parts of Syria. The stained glass windows are probably not earlier than the 16th century. Restorations in the courtyard date from the end of the 18th century, and additional adornments of the shrine have been given by Moslem rulers at a yet later period. The chambers in the north-east angle belong to a later period than the rest of the Arab buildings in and around the courtyard. The pavement is also comparatively modern, and probably later than the Crusading work.

The accompanying plan gives in colours the various building periods thus enumerated, the original Herodian masonry being shown in black, the mediæval Christian work in red, and the later Arab work in yellow (14th century) and in brown. The attached note by Sir C. Wilson was written on reading the original rough draft, of which the present report is an amplification.

CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER,
Captain Royal Engineers.

NOTE BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR C. WILSON, C.B., K.C.M.G., R.E.

I HAVE read through Captain Conder's report on the Hebron Haram, and have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the accuracy of his remarks.

A close inspection of the masonry of the Haram showed that it was identical in character with that of the Wailing Place in the wall of the Jerusalem Haram, and therefore almost certainly Herodian. This may throw some light on the character of the exterior wall of the Temple of Herod. Both at Jerusalem and Hebron, a level platform is obtained by massive walls of large stones, with marginal drafts. At Hebron a

surrounding wall, ornamented with pilasters, rises to a height of 25 feet above the platform, and it is probable that Herod's Temple enclosure was surrounded by a similar wall, which has long since disappeared, with the exception of a solitary fragment which was discovered by Captain Conder a few years ago. It would indeed almost seem as if the Hebron Haram were a copy in miniature of the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem.

As regards the question of an entrance to the caves, it may be remarked that the whitewash on the walls of the chamber (at C on the plan) was white, clean, and apparently of no great age; and that the papers on the ground did not seem to be old. From this it may be inferred that the chamber, whence there is an entrance to the cave, is periodically visited and cleaned by the guardians of the mosque.

It appeared to me that access to the chamber might be obtained by removing the perforated stone at the point C on the plan. This stone rises above the floor of the mosque, and is pierced by a circular hole a little more than 12 inches in diameter; I noticed, however, that beneath the floor the hole became larger, and, if the stone were removed, I believe a man could be lowered by means of a rope.

It is possible that the original entrance was similar in design to that at "Barclay's Gateway," in the Jerusalem Haram, and that the portal in the massive masonry is concealed by the buildings known as Joseph's Tomb. It seemed quite clear that some entrance to the caves beneath the level of the platform was closed by the wall of the chamber at C, opposite the small square doorway. The pavement at A, which is secured by iron clamps, and which is said to cover a flight of steps, did not seem to have been disturbed for many years. The arrangements for reaching the cave by a flight of steps in one corner of the church is similar to that adopted by the Crusaders when building the church at "David's Tomb" at Jerusalem.

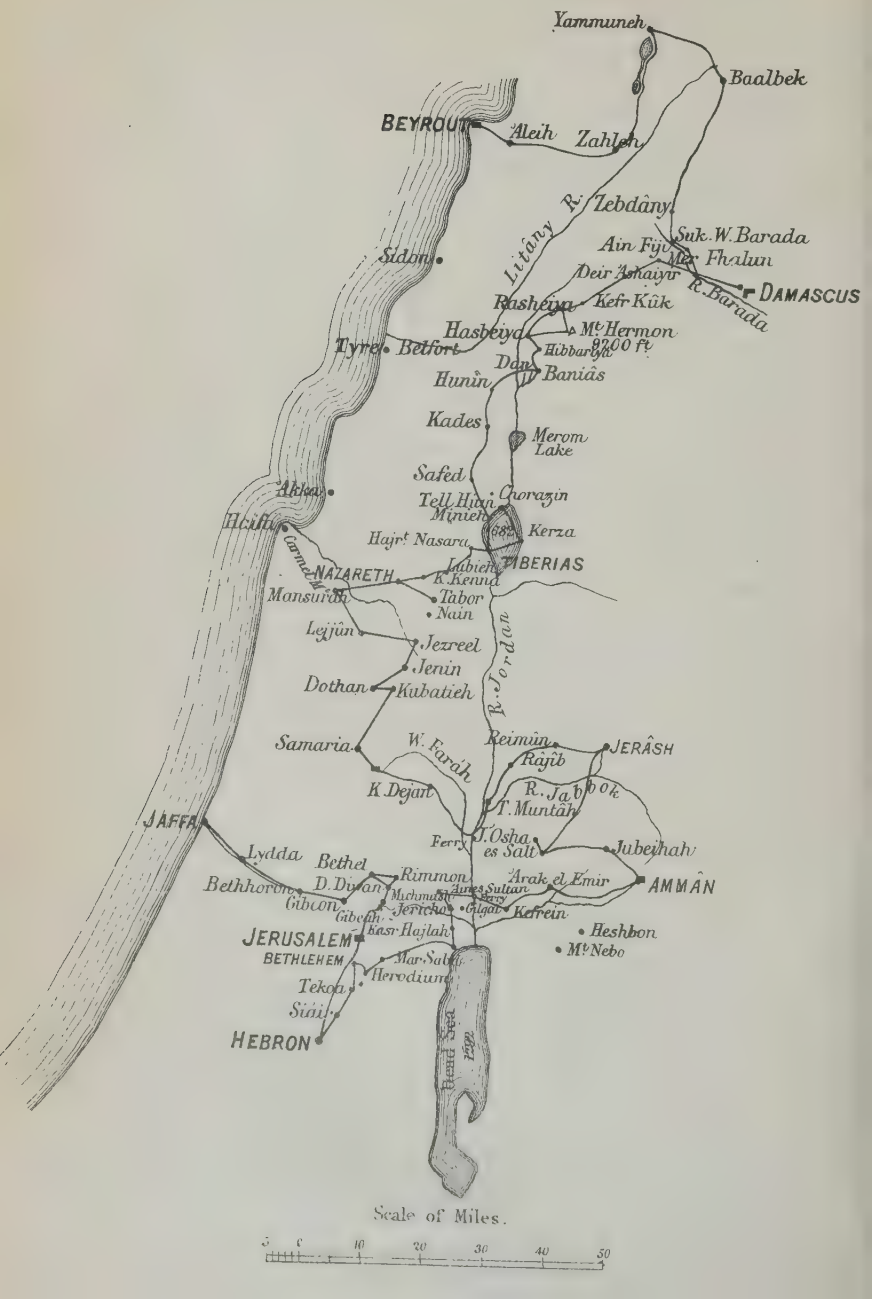
C. W. Wilson, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

Jerusalem,
April 8th, 1882.

TOUR OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES IN PALESTINE.

The Royal party reached Jaffa on Tuesday, 28th March, and re-embarked at Beirut on 6th May, having thus passed forty days on shore, during thirty-one of which they were travelling. The total length of the route

MAP SHEWING THE ROYAL TOUR.



was approximately 585 English miles, giving an average of $18\frac{3}{4}$ miles per diem. The longest distances accomplished were 28 miles on the 13th and again on 17th April, and 32 miles on the 25th April. The length of the route east of Jordan was about 115 English miles.

The following notes refer only to such points of antiquarian interest as were newly observed during the Royal tour, some of which are of considerable importance. A short memoir is also attached, concerning the antiquities from Palmyra, presented to Their Royal Highnesses by Sheikh Mijwel at Damascus, one of which is considered to be of considerable value.

Jerusalem.—While visiting the chapel of Calvary in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, special attention was directed to the so-called "rent in the rock," which is shown on the right side of the Greek altar. The metal slide here covers a long slit in the marble flagging, and this was removed, and by aid of a light the live rock was distinctly seen, with a crevice which appears to extend downwards to that which is shown in the chapel of Adam, a cave beneath the Calvary chapel. The fact that the chapel of Calvary stands, in part at least, on a high rock, rising 15 feet above the general level of the church, is thus demonstrated, and the level of the rock at this point is determined as 2,495 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The demonstration thus obtained of the existence of a natural hill or cliff at this point is not, however, sufficient to prove the genuineness of the tradition which identifies the spot with Calvary; but it has considerable importance in connection with other topographical questions in Jerusalem archæology.

Tomb of Esau.—In travelling from Hebron to Bethlehem the route led through the small village of Sia'îr, situated in a valley. On the south side of the village is a modern Moslem building, sacred to *el 'Ais*, who was stated by the local Sheikh to have been the son of "Isaac the jealous," that is to say, his eldest son Esau. This place has been rarely visited, but the tradition is of considerable antiquity. According to a common Moslem tradition, which is derived from a Jewish source, the head of Esau was buried in the cave of Machpelah, but his body in the tomb now under consideration. It appears probable that the idea may have arisen in consequence of the resemblance between the name Sia'îr and the Hebrew Seir, the country of Esau. The village has, however, been identified with the Zior of the Book of Joshua (xv, 54), and Mount Seir was really situated much further south, in the vicinity of Petra.

The tomb shown as that of Esau is a cenotaph, 12 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high. It is covered with a dull green cloth, having a border of red, yellow, and white; above it is a canopy. The cenotaph stands in a bare whitewashed room, 15 paces by 8 paces, having on the south wall a mihrab, and on the north side a door to a vaulted outer chamber of equal size; on the east is an open courtyard, with another tomb, said to be that of Esau's servant. A fig-tree grows beside it. An ostrich egg and numerous rags are placed near Esau's tomb as offerings. The place is greatly venerated, and it is usually difficult to

obtain access to the interior, as the village lies in a remote district, where the Moslems are still, to a certain extent, fanatical.[1]

Kasr Hajlah.—This interesting monastery in the plains of Jericho was visited on 8th April, and was found to be undergoing repair by the Russian Greeks, after having remained nearly eight centuries in ruins. It is worthy of notice that all the ancient frescoes which adorned the walls of the two chapels, within the precincts of the monastery, have been entirely destroyed by the monks. These frescoes were among the most interesting in Palestine. They included figures representing John Eleemon, Patriarch of Jerusalem (630 A.D.), Andrew of Crete, Silvester Pope of Rome (probably the famous Silvester II, 998 A.D.), and Sophronius of Jerusalem. A curious representation of the Resurrection of the Saints also occurred in the smaller chapel. The character of the inscriptions indicated that these frescoes belonged probably to the 12th or 13th century. Not a vestige of them now remains, but the inscriptions and the principal designs were copied by Captain Conder in 1873, and are to be published in the third volume of the Memoirs to the Survey of Western Palestine.

This incident is mentioned as showing the way in which many interesting and valuable monuments have been rescued from oblivion by the Palestine Exploration Fund during the last ten years, and also as showing the necessity of extending the operations of the Society, before the destruction which is rapidly overtaking many important monuments in Syria shall have had time to do more mischief.

'Arâk el Emîr.—This fine ruin, the ancient Tyrus, where a palace was built by Hyrcanus, son of Joseph Tobias, about 180 B.C. (Josephus, "Antiq.," XII, iv, 11), was explored on 10th April. A curious Arab tradition was collected on the spot, according to which the palace now known as Kasr el 'Abd ("the slave's house") was erected by a certain black slave, who was in love with the daughter of the Emîr, from whom the place is now named 'Arák el Emîr, or "the Emîr's cliff." The princess had promised, during the absence of her father on a pilgrimage, to marry the slave if he would build her a palace to live in; but while he was engaged in the work the Emîr suddenly appeared, the slave committed suicide, and was burnt by the Emîr, who placed a stone upon his body. The place where the Emîr, mounted on his horse, first reappeared is shown: it is a knoll due east of the palace, and is still called *Mutull el Hisân* ("the rising of the horse").

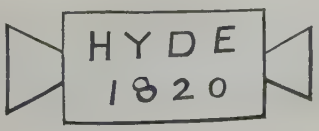
The interest of this story lies in the fact that it is probably a well-defined solar myth, surviving among the Arabs. Taken by itself, this conclusion might be considered doubtful, but during the year 1881 the Survey party collected many other tales of similar character among the Arabs of Moab, which serve as contributions to a subject as yet little studied, namely, the folk-lore of Semitic races. In the present instance the horseman appearing in the east recalls the Vedic Asvinau brothers, and the Persian Mithra—the sun, or daylight. The black slave burnt up

[1] Several green-turbaned folk were sitting by the entrance when we visited it, and at first objected grumblingly to our approach till they saw the Turkish escort, and were addressed in Arabic by Captain Conder.—J. N. D.

on his appearance is evidently an emblem of the night, and the princess who is thus freed from him is probably, like the Phœnician Andromeda and many other mythical maidens, an impersonation of the dawn, or of the moon. The great size of the masonry of the ruined palace of Hyrcanus probably accounts for the supernatural agency which is thus supposed to have conduced to its construction, and for the localisation of the myth. Many of the tales related by the Arabs east of Jordan are evidently of Persian origin, but it is known that in the 6th century A.D. the Persians had already translated Indian folk-lore stories, and that these were again rendered into Syriac and Arabic from Pehlevi. Persian buildings of the 6th century have also been discovered in Moab and Gilead, and the survival of Aryan myths among a Semitic people is thus less difficult to explain than might at first appear.

'Ammân.—The Royal party explored the principal points of interest, and examined the group of magnificent dolmens discovered by the Royal Engineers a few months previously. The citadel at 'Ammân includes a very interesting building, apparently of Persian origin, which is ascribed by Professor Hayter Lewis to the 11th or 12th century. During the Royal visit the remains of a second building of the same kind were examined, near the north wall of the citadel. They had been already planned by the Survey party, but several pieces of architectural detail, which serve to throw light on the style and date of the structure, were now newly discovered and sketched.

Es Salt.—This small town is the seat of a Kaimakâm, or Lieutenant-Governor. The remains of a strong castle, with a rock-cut fosse, dominate the place ; the foundations seem clearly to belong to the Crusading period. The present name of the place is a corruption of the Latin *saltus* ("a grove"), and is supposed to have been given in consequence of the neighbouring woods. South of the town a curious Byzantine building was examined, on the right of the valley of 'Ain Jeidûr. It was evidently first constructed as a tomb, rock-cut, with loculi at the sides, and a front wall of masonry having a heavy lintel to the door. At a later period it seems to have been used as a Christian chapel, the walls being covered with stucco and painted in fresco, while small niches were cut in the eastern wall opposite the entrance. The remains of a nimbus, once surrounding the head of a frescoed saint, are still visible. Many human bones were lying in the loculi. A native Christian gave the curious information that, a massacre of martyrs having once occurred here, drops of blood still distil at intervals from a crack in the lintel of the entrance door. This superstition belongs to a very common class of religious ideas among the native Christians of Syria. A small tablet, painted in red with the name of an early explorer, was observed on the side wall of this monument—



About a hundred yards east of this tomb, a second, of ruder characters, was visited, and on the back of one of the six loculi which it contained was found a rude bas-relief, representing two busts. In general character it resembled the remains of similar sculpture found at Sûk Wâdy Bârada, and in other places, dating about the 4th or 5th century of the Christian era.

Jerâsh.—This ruin, which is one of the finest in Syria, excepting Palmyra and Baalbek, was visited on the 13th of April, and several Greek inscriptions, which do not appear to have been copied by any previous explorer, were found by the Princes, one, especially, being in four lines of great length. Jerâsh is the ancient Gerasa, mentioned by Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 18), and by Josephus ("Wars," III, iii, 3). The buildings appear to belong mainly to one period. They include three temples, two theatres, a stadium, a circus, propylea, and a basilica, baths, a triumphal arch, a fine street of columns, ending in a circular peribolos, a bridge, and a complete circuit of walls with gateways.

Owing to its remote situation this fine ruin is rarely visited. The last Royal personage who appears to have journeyed to Jerâsh was the Crusading King Baldwin II, who attacked a castle here, built by the Sultan of Damascus in 1121 A.D. The Roman ruins are attributed to the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era, but the newly found inscription, with its crosses, seems probably to belong to a somewhat later period, and may serve to throw light on the history of Gerasa.

It is worthy of notice that fine pillars of red granite are found in the ruins of Jerâsh, while granite columns are also used at 'Ammân. The nearest place whence they could have been brought is probably Alexandria, in Egypt, and the transport of such heavy materials to so great a distance proves the wealth and power of the Roman and Byzantine rulers of Eastern Palestine during this period.[1]

The newly found inscriptions are given below. Another, almost illegible, was observed near the peribolos. Four other short inscriptions were previously copied by Burckhardt, making nine in all now known at Jerâsh.

No. 1, found on west wall of Southern Temple, on the stylobate near north-west angle :—

ΠΕΡΤΗ
ΑΓ

No. 2, in the southern theatre :—

ΙΙΤΗΕΝΧΘΟΝΙΚΠΟΝΤΩ
ΑΧΟΡΕΙΗCΕΡΚΟΕ
ΕΘΕ . . . Λ . . . . ΘΙ
Ο ΘΝΟΕΤΓ

[1] They would be brought with comparative ease in any wheeled vehicle along the fine Roman road which ran direct from Jerâsh to the Jordan, crossed it by bridge above Damieh Ford, and ran direct from there by Nablûs to Cæsarea, where they were unshipped from Alexandria.— J. N. D.

Nos 3 and 4, in a building south of the Great Temple, appear to belong to a single text, which ran along the wall under a cornice. Part of the first line of No. 4 is covered with earth, and in other lines the letters are too much obliterated to read.

No. 3.

ΟΥΘΕΟΕΙΧΕΟCΟΥΚΛΕΟCΕ
ϮCΜΕΤΑΗΟΤΜΟΝΑΕΙΜΕΤΕΧ
ΙCΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙC ✠ ΧΑΡΙΤΓ ...
ΘΥΡΑΕΝ ̅Μ̅ΛΙΩΤΗCΕ ....

No. 4.

ΟΜΟCΕΙΜΙΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ .....
ΙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ+CΩΜΑΓΑΡΕΝΓΑΗΨΥΧΗΔΕΙCΟΥΡΑΝΟΝΕΥΡΥΝΑCΕΕΛΙΚΕ
ΙΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΚΑΓΗΡΑΟΝΕΡ ..... ΓΤΕΙΚΑΙΝ ΑΕΤΗCΚΑΙΕΞCΟΜΕΝΟ
ΡΤΥΡΙ ..... ΜΔ ΙΩΤΗC ..... ΕΙΝΛΚΑΝΗΛ .... ΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΕ ...

This inscription was copied rather hastily, in a bad light, and some errors may have consequently occurred in the transcription.

The text refers to a certain Theodorus, whose "soul is in heaven," and who was probably the founder of the building where the text occurs.

The remaining inscriptions are as below :—

No. 5, on a broken block in the propylea of the Great Temple; seen also by Burckhardt :—

ΟΝΡΑΤΟ
ΟΥΑΔΡ
ΠΚΑΙΑΥΡ
ΚΑΙΤΟΥC
ΔΗΜΟ
CΤΟΛ
ΤΙCΤ

No. 6, near the last, also copied by Burckhardt. The large letters in the las line are 5 inches high :—

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ : ЄΡΑ
ΤΟΠΡΟΠΥΛ
ΟΡΝΗΑ

No. 7, on another fallen block near the preceding, written round a central disc :—

No. 8, copied by Burckhardt, close to No. 5 :—

ΤΗΡΙΑ
ΔΙC

No. 9 is stated by Burckhardt to exist in the Basilica on a broken pedestal between two columns :—

ΡΩΝ ..... ΝΟΥΛΗ
ΓΡΙΟΝΗCΠΟΝ

There are probably other inscriptions yet uncopied at Jerâsh, and the site demands more careful exploration than it has as yet undergone.

It would seem, from inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4, that part of the

buildings belong to the Christian period, since the Greek cross is used to divide the sentences. From the occurrence of the name *Antonei* on inscription No. 6, it seems that the Great Temple probably belongs to the time of the Antonines, or to the 2nd century A.D. The other pagan buildings of the site are, judging from their architectural style, of the same date.

Shechem.—The Royal party ascended Mount Gerizim on the 16th of April. The buildings on the summit, including the church of Zeno (474 A.D.) and Justinian's fortress (533 A.D.) have been thoroughly explored; but no remains of the Samaritan Temple, built, according to Josephus, by Sanballat ("Antiq.," XI, viii, 7), have been recognised with certainty as yet. According to the Samaritans, it stood close to the Sacred Rock which they still venerate—a large smooth slab of the natural surface of nummulitic limestone, with a dip westwards. On the west, or lower edge, is a sunk cavity, like a cistern, which is traditionally the cave in which the Tabernacle was made. A very interesting note by Mr. Dalton was made on the occasion of the Royal visit, in connection with this site: for on the surface of the rock was observed a cup-shaped hollow, evidently artificial, about a foot in diameter, and 9 inches deep. The Samaritans explained that this hollow marked the spot where the *Hand* (حوض), or Laver of their temple, answering to the Laver in the Court of the Tabernacle, or to that in the Priest's Court of the Jerusalem Temple, had formerly stood. Such cup-shaped hollows are occasionally found in flat rocks in other parts of Palestine, and their use was not understood; but during the recent Survey of Moab, similar hollows have been found in or on flat rocks, close beside the fine dolmens discovered by the Exploration party. There can be little doubt that the hollows were intended to retain libations poured on the stone, and the dolmen stones are often tilted, as though to cause the libation to flow to the hollow, while the rocks in which such hollows occur have, as in the case of the Sacred Rock on Gerizim, a natural inclination. The existence of the cave here, and also beneath the Sacred Rock of Jerusalem, and the hole in the roof of the Hebron Cave, are interesting. In the two former cases, it seems possible that the blood of sacrifices, offered on the sacred rocks, was allowed to run off the surface (through a hole leading to the cave at Jerusalem) into the cistern beneath. The inclination of the sacred Samaritan rock seems to indicate that the worshipper would have faced eastwards, pouring out his libation to the rising sun. It appears probable that El Eliun, the Phœnician sky god, was once worshipped on Gerizim (the Samaritans, indeed, at one time claimed Phœnician origin); and the connection between this worship and the Samaritan belief that Gerizim is the mountain of the land of Moriah (rendered "high land" by the Septuagint version), where Isaac's sacrifice by Abraham was commanded, is suggestive. The exact site of this sacrifice is still shown close to the Sacred Rock. The discovery of the cup-hollow in the rock is of peculiar interest, therefore, in respect to the history of the mountain.

Hajâret en Nasâra.—This spot was visited on the 21st April, on the

way from Nazareth to Tiberias. The name signifies "stones of the Christians," and modern tradition makes this the site of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, which, however, took place, according to the Gospels, on the other side of the Sea of Galilee. A rude circle of basalt blocks, ten paces in diameter, here occupies the edge of a shelf looking down Wâdy Abu 'Ammîs, and commanding a view of the lake through the gap, and of the Jaulân mountains beyond. The largest stone is about 5 feet long, and the Russian pilgrims are in the habit of taking home chips of this stone, which they believe to have been used by Christ as a table.

It seems possible that this much venerated circle may be a prehistoric monument, similar to those east of Jordan; and the fine view towards the sunrise seems to countenance this supposition, since stone circles generally occur in Syria in similar positions.

Capernaum.—Antiquaries are at present divided in opinion between two sites towards the north-west end of the Sea of Galilee, which claim to represent the town of Capernaum. These are *Tell Hum*, an important ruin with a synagogue, 2½ miles west of the Jordan inlet, and *Minieh*, a less conspicuous ruin, 2½ English miles further west, at the north end of the Plain of Gennesaret.

It has been conclusively shown by Sir C. Wilson, and other writers, that Tell Hum has been considered by the Christians, since the 4th century, to be the true site of Capernaum. The ruins of the synagogue belong, however, probably to the 2nd century of the Christian era. A great difficulty also arises in accepting this tradition, because there is no spring at or near Tell Hum, whereas Josephus ("Wars," III, x, 8) gives a particular description of the spring of Capernaum, a "most fertile fountain," watering the country of Gennesaret. The New Testament narrative also connects Capernaum with Gennesaret (cf. Matt. xiv, 34; Mark vi, 53; John vi, 17, 24, 25). The spring of Capernaum contained a peculiar fish, called Coracinus, found also in the Nile ("Wars," III. x, 8), and this fish has been identified by Canon Tristram as the *Clarius Macracanthus*, or cat-fish, found in Egypt, and also in the great spring which waters the Plain of Gennesaret, now called 'Ain el Medawerah, "the Round Fountain."

The arguments in favour of the site at Minieh are briefly: 1st, that Jewish tradition *seems* clearly to indicate this spot as the ancient Capernaum; 2nd, that its situation in the Plain of Gennesaret *appears* to agree with the New Testament account; 3rd, that it is sufficiently near the Round Fountain to allow of the latter being named Capernaum, which would seem impossible in the case of Tell Hum, situated, as it is, 5 miles from the Round Fountain.[1]

The advocates of the Tell Hum site have endeavoured to meet this last objection by supposing that the fountain called Capernaum by Josephus is to be identified with a group of fine springs found at Tâbghah, between Tell Hûm and Capernaum (if placed at Minieh). These springs are, it is true, not in the Plain of Gennesaret, from which they are separated by a

[1] The Round Fountain is 2½ miles at least from Minieh—rather too far off to be "sufficiently near."—J. N. D.

rocky promontory. They do not contain the Coracinus, the water being brackish and unfit for the habitat of this fish, and even if this fountain were the one intended by Josephus, the argument cannot be considered to tell very forcibly in favour of Tell Hum, because Tâbghah lies considerably nearer Minieh (¾ mile) than near Tell Hum (nearly 2 miles off).

Nevertheless, it has been supposed that the water of the principal Tâbghah spring was dammed up, in a masonry reservoir, and conveyed by an aqueduct, partly rock-cut, round the Minieh cliff and into the Gennesaret plain, which it thus irrigated artificially.

It may appear curious that such a labour should have been undertaken, since there are several good springs in the plain itself. The Round Fountain contains a supply of water which might be much more easily used in irrigation. The 'Ain et Tîn, close to Minieh, might be dammed up to the required height and used, without entailing the additional labour and expense of nearly a mile of aqueduct, partly cut in hard rock; and a great supply of water might be collected at a high level in the streams of Wâdy 'Amûd, Wâdy Rubudîyeh, and Wâdy Hamâm.

As, however, this controversy is still considered to be unsettled, the occasion of the Royal visit was seized in order most carefully to examine the neighbourhood of Minieh, Tâbghah, and Tell Hum, and especially to collect information concerning the character of the irrigatory works connected with the Tâbghah springs. The results appear to have an important bearing on the question.

The total length of the rock-cut passage, in the cliff near Minieh, is 150 yards, the width is from 4 to 6 feet, and the depth of the channel is in places about 30 feet, but generally not more than 3 to 6 feet on the lower side. The direction and dimensions of the various sections were carefully noted. The channel is not quite level at the bottom, and descends at either end with a slope of about a quarter of a degree from the horizontal. To the east, a paved path continues from the rock-cut portion, and gradually descends to the shore of the lake. There are no remains of any cement on the sides or bed of the channel, such as would be expected in an aqueduct, for the cement often remains almost perfect in water channels older than that at Minieh.

The east end of this channel is more than half-a-mile from the spring. The level, as far as could be judged by observations taken with an Abney's level, seems to be possibly 10 or 20 feet above the top of the reservoir at the Birket 'Aly (the chief fountain at Tâbghah). Between this spring and the passage there are no traces of any aqueduct. It would have to run on a wall, or on piers of masonry of considerable height, and not any indication exists of such a structure. The natural conclusion, which seemed to result from this examination, is that the spring and the rock-cut channel have no connection with one another. It seems far more probable that the passage was intended for a road, in order to avoid the necessity of climbing over the promontory. The cutting of the passage saved an ascent of more than 200 feet, and without it there was no possibility of rounding the cliff which runs into the lake.

The cutting resembles several other rock-cut paths in different parts of Syria, as, for instance, at Râs-en-Nâkûrah, south of Tyre, at 'Ain Fiji, and at Sûk Wâdy Bârada, where the Roman road passes through a passage 17 feet wide, with walls 30 feet high, cut by the 16th Legion in the reign of Antoninus and Verus. The rock-cut aqueducts are generally much narrower, having a cross section of about 2 feet on an average, and traces of cement are almost always found along their course.

If the above conclusion be correct, the channel was never an aqueduct, and the Tâbghah spring can never consequently have irrigated the Plain of Gennesaret by it. An examination of the springs leads, moreover, to the same conclusion. They issue from a limestone rock some 30 to 40 feet above the level of the lake. The spring head is enclosed in a circular tower of masonry, some 15 feet high, whence it was originally conducted to a polygonal pool called Birket 'Aly, built against the face of the cliff, and enclosing another spring. The water tower has, however, been undermined, so that the stream flows through a breach at the base of the wall, and runs below the level of the Birket to a dam, probably more modern, where the water is collected and carried by an aqueduct entirely of modern construction to a modern mill, now working close to the shore of the lake. The water tower walls are built of coarse rubble of basalt in white mortar.

Birket 'Aly is an octagonal reservoir about 100 yards west of the water tower. The walls are built of basalt masonry, the stones being generally of small size, except where the pressure of the water was greatest, and the wall required to be of more solid construction. There is no indication that any part of this wall is older than the rest. A double channel leads from the reservoir to a pair of vertical shafts, which evidently formed shoots for a small mill, now destroyed.

The mortar and plaster of the Birket appear to be modern, and contain pieces of new-looking glazed pottery. The second coat of plaster is pink and full of pottery, as in the plaster now used for cisterns in Syria; the third coat is fine and white.

The original intention which caused the construction of this reservoir was evidently to obtain a head of water for a mill, and there is no reason to suppose that any aqueduct, other than that leading to the mill, ever existed. The name, Birket 'Aly, is said by the natives to be given because this work, with the other constructions at Tâbghah, was made by 'Aly, son of the famous Galilean Arab chief, Dhahr el 'Amr, about a century ago. The descendants of this chief still state that the Tâbghah mills were built by their family, and the work has all the appearance of having been executed by Arabs. There is, therefore, no good foundation for the belief that the Tâbghah springs were dammed up to a level even higher than that of the present reservoir at so remote a period as that of the Christian era.

There are two other mills near the shore, the channels to which are now in ruins, the mills being disused. Some 200 yards east of the water tower above noticed is a second of similar character. It is called 'Ain Eyûb or Tannûr Eyûb, "Spring (or oven) of Job." It is 10 feet in diameter and

15 feet high, with walls about 4 feet thick, and an internal flight of fifteen steps. The water, like that of the other springs, is saline. Similar water towers occur at the 'Ain-el-Barideh, near Mejdel, south of the Plain of Gennesaret. The object of the structure is not very clear, but it was probably a method of obtaining a reserve supply of water. The Tannûr Eyûb is now breached near the base of the wall, and the stream runs free. The place is evidently still sacred, as small offerings (blue beads and strings of shells) are attached to the wall, emblems in ancient mythology of female deities who presided over water.

The results of the exploration were, therefore :—

1st. That there are no indications of any connection between the Tâbghah springs and the rock-cut passage at Minieh.

2nd. That the level of the passage *appears* to be higher than even the top of the reservoir of Birket 'Aly.

3rd. That the passage resembles a road rather than an aqueduct.[1]

4th. That the reservoir is modern, and that there are no remains of any ancient similar constructions.

From these considerations it seems safe to conclude that the water of the Tâbghah spring has never been used to irrigate the Plain of Gennesaret, and that the spring is consequently not the fountain of Capernaum mentioned by Josephus.

Bâniâs.—The sources of the Jordan were reached by the Royal party on the 25th April, and a very important discovery was made on that day. The great mound at Tell el Kady has long been recognised as the site of the town of Dan, where one of the golden calves is related to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 Kings xii, 29). Josephus mentions a "little temple" in which the golden calf was placed ("Antiq.," VIII, viii, 4). In another passage he mentions this sanctuary as situated near Daphne, at the junction of the great and lesser Jordan ("Wars," IV, i, 1). Daphne is the present ruin of Dufna, close to Tell el Kady, and between the two streams : one, the lesser Jordan, flowing from Bâniâs ; the other, the greater Jordan, descending from Hermon on the west.

Immediately north-west, nearly a mile distant from Tell el Kady, a low hillock, covered with blocks of hard black basalt, commands an extensive view on all sides. On the south the Hûleh lake and its marshes is backed by the narrow gorge, through which Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. On the east are the volcanic peaks of the Jaulân ; on the north-east the snowy Hermon, and the fine castle of Banias, rising high above the groves which surround the foaming Jordan. On the north-west is Abel beth Maachah, and the spurs of Lebanon ; and on the west the Galilean ridges, crowned with sacred shrines, which no doubt preserve the memory of ancient places sacred to the Setting Sun. This view is one of the most picturesque in Syria, and the natural sanctuary thus formed, in the centre of the hills close to the great streams, is just such a site as is found, in Moab or in Gilead, to present a field of dolmens and menhirs, which it can

[1] But at Ain-Fijeh precisely similar rock cuttings, made for aqueducts, were afterwards used for roads. I had the privilege of hearing Captain Conder

hardly be doubted were erected as places of sacrifice to a local divinity. Seven such centres were discovered in 1881 by the Survey party in Moab, and the experience thus gained led to the recognition of another centre on the basaltic knoll close to Tell el Kady.

The knoll is known only to the Arabs as "the ruin of the little palm" (Nukheileh), but it has clearly been a dolmen centre, the monuments having been all constructed of hard blocks of black basalt. The great weight of this material causes the monuments to be smaller than most of those found

No. 1 Sketch.

east of Jordan. On the south-west side of the knoll, just above the road from Abl to Tell el Kady,[1] two of the dolmens stand close together. The

explain at some length, on the spot, the several points he has touched upon in this note, concerning the site of Capernaum, and also of reading on the spot Sir Charles Wilson's paper on the opposite side of the same question, as published in "Recovery of Jerusalem," pp. 375 to 387. I humbly venture to think that the arguments there set out are uncontroverted, and that the cautious conclusion of those clearly written pages will still commend itself to the judgment of most. "It is very desirable that extensive excavations should be made, both at Khan Minyeh and Tell Hum, as, until this is done, it is impossible to say with certainty which is Capernaum. I think, however, in the present state of our knowledge, the evidence is in favour of the latter place, and I would place Capernaum at Tell Hum, ... and the Galilean Bethsaida (if there were one distinct from Julias) at Khan Minyeh."—J. N. D.

[1] Immediately on crossing the stream without a name that flows mid-way between the Nahr-el-Hâsbâny and the Nahr-el-Leddân. (Survey Map of Western Palestine, Sheet II.)—J. N. D.

most western (No. 1 sketch) presents a table stone, 5 feet long, 3 feet broad, supported on three stones, and surrounded with several others. The

No. 2 Sketch.

artificial character of the structure is marked by the small pebbles which have been inserted between the top stone and the supporting stones, so as to make the former steady ; and a hollow is found in the top stone, which, though not so well defined (in consequence of the hardness of the material) as in many of the limestone dolmens, is yet evidently not a natural feature. The top stone is only raised about 2 feet from the ground, but this is often the case in the Moabite examples.

The second dolmen (No. 2 sketch), south-east of the preceding and not far from it, resembles the monuments found in India or in Europe, which have been called semi-dolmens by Mr. James Fergusson. A block of basalt, 5 feet long, is supported on a cubical pillar, 2½ feet high, the eastern end of the stone resting on the ground.

On the south-east side of the knoll two other examples, well marked, but of somewhat different structure, were found. One consists of a block (No. 3 sketch) 5 feet long, supported by a stone beneath, so as to form an inclined

No. 3 Sketch.

table stone, the highest part of the top surface being 4 feet from the ground. The great weight of the basalt makes the erection of this structure a work which must have required very considerable labour. The stone is surrounded with a rude circle of smaller blocks, and, as in the first specimen, it is kept steady by a small pebble inserted beneath it on one side, a detail which makes yet clearer the artificial nature of the structure.

The fourth example, a little further east, presents a square stone about 4 feet across, supported on three other stones. All four of these monuments are closely similar to examples found in Moab, where they occur in

connection with specimens so large as to allow of a man walking erect, in some instances, under the table stone.

No. 4 Sketch.

In addition to these unmistakeable examples, there are many other fallen dolmens and single blocks strewn over the hill; in some cases the monuments seem to have been purposely destroyed, especially those most conspicuously placed; and in one instance, as observed by Mr. Dalton, the table stone appeared to have been deliberately shattered into at least three pieces, which evidently at one time formed a single stone. It seems probable that most of the dolmens were surrounded with a circle of small stones, and this arrangement has also been noticed among other groups east of Jordan.

The great interest attaching to this discovery lies in the connection existing between this group of dolmens and the historically sacred centre of Dan, close beside. The investigation of the Moabite dolmens seemed to point to their original use as altars; and modern critics have recognised several allusions in the Old Testament to such monuments erected by the Canaanite tribes, and by the early Israelites. It is possible that, in the specimens now under consideration, we may have the remains of the sanctuary erected by Jeroboam to the calf idol; but if Josephus is to be credited, and if a small temple, not mentioned in the Bible, was erected over the image, it is possible that the dolmens mark a yet older religious centre of the Hittites or Ammorites.[1] In the case of the Bethel

[1] Jeroboam's calf worship must have been mingled with reminiscences, at least, of what he had seen of the bull Men at On, in Egypt, venerated as the earthly representative of Ra the Sun, the daily renewer of life; and the little temple mentioned by Josephus probably stood on the little plateau on the summit of the apparently artificially constructed Tell el Kâdy. Thus in one centre we now see combined the remains of five forms at least of nature worship: the Phœnician, on Mount Hermon; the Canaanite dolmens, at Kh. el-Nukheileh; the Egyptian, at Tell el Kâdy; and the Greek and Roman, at Paneas.—J. N. D.

sanctuary, Jeroboam only reconsecrated an ancient religious centre, and it appears probable that the shrine at Dan had in like manner been a local religious centre long before the time of Jeroboam. The name Hermon is supposed to signify "the Great Sanctuary;" and the mountain was a sacred spot from a very early period, and may be said still to be so considered by the Druzes, whose principal shrines are found on its slopes, while in the 2nd and 3rd centuries temples were erected on all sides of the summit, and on the highest peak itself.

The discovery of dolmens in so interesting a locality has therefore an important bearing on the history of rude stone monuments. In Judea, these structures seem to have been purposely destroyed, and not a single well defined example has been found. In Galilee, on the other hand, where the iconoclasm of the Jerusalem school was less powerful, several good specimens have been found, notably *Hajr ed Dumm*, or "stone of blood," erected on a high point north of the Sea of Galilee. In Moab, some 700 dolmens are now known to exist, and probably many others remain to be discovered. The exploration of the group at Dan is, however, perhaps the most important discovery yet made in connection with rude stone monuments in Syria.

In connection with this subject a few notes may be added as to the remains of calf worship in this district. At an early period, the site of Abel beth Maachah appears to have been much venerated as containing an oracle (2 Sam. xx, 18), and it is remarkable that the great mound south of this town (the modern village of Abl, west of Tell el Kady) is still called Tell el 'Ajjûl ("the hill of the calves"). A flat plateau at the top seems to have been artificially levelled, as though to form a site for a temple or a town. The situation of Abl is such that from the mound the sun would appear, at the summer solstice, rising behind Hermon, while the direction in which it would set at the same season is marked still by the shrine of Neby Aweideh, standing against the sky-line. His name represents the Hebrew *Uz*, and signifies "a substitute."[1]

It is generally recognised that the golden calf was a symbol of the sun, and of the young or rising sun more especially. The ritual of the Israelite calf worship appears to have included human sacrifice, according to the correct translation of a passage in Hosea (xiii, 2), "sacrificing men they kiss the calves."

The erection of numerous altars, in connection with these rites, is specially mentioned by Hosea (xii, 11), "their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields."

It is also curious to observe that calf worship may be said to survive to the present day in this district, for the Druzes are well known to preserve a brass image of a calf in their chapels, or *khâlwehs*, on Hermon. It is true

[1] There is another shrine on the same western ridge, "Neby Maheibib," equivalent to that of "the darling," or "the beloved," which may stand for Adonis and the departing sun. From the Tell el Kady platform Subeibek, the Mizpeh under Hermon stands out due east, and Neby Aneideh due west; they are clearly in line with its axis for rising and setting sun.—J. N. D.

that they now treat it with contempt, as an emblem of Derâzi the heretic, whom their great teacher Hamzeh pronounced (by a play on the Arabic words *'Ajel* (عجل) and *'Akl* (عقل), both sometimes pronounced by Egyptians—and he was for many years an inhabitant of Cairo—almost indistinguishably, as *'Ajl*), to be, not a "wise man" (*'Akl*), but a calf (*'Ajl*). Nevertheless, the Druze religion spread in the 11th century among the Isma'ileh peasantry of Hermon, who preserved many remnants of the old Canaanite religion, and it is possible that Hamzeh at first tolerated the calf idol, just as Muhammed tolerated the stone worship of Mecca; and that the contempt with which the brass image is now regarded is really a later outcome of the development of the Druze philosophy.

'Ain Hashbey.—Very little remains to be added to these notes, as the discovery of dolmens at Bâniâs was the culminating point of antiquarian interest in the Royal tour. As, however, every inscription recovered in Palestine is considered of interest, the following is noticed. It was pointed out, on the 4th May, on the arched façade of a vault, whence a fine spring issues on the west side of the great Baalbek plain, north of Zahleh. It appears to be a Latin dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and, in common with the temples of Baalbek, and others in the same plain, it is probably to be attributed to the 2nd century A.D.:—

IOMHORAP ⊐DEV RVEVS

The vault is 9 feet in diameter, with nine *voussoirs*, and a round section, the keystone being narrower than the haunch stones, as in most work of the later Roman or early Byzantine period in Syria.

The following note refers to a collection of seals presented to Their Royal Highnesses, during their stay in Damascus, by the Arab Sheikh Mijwel, and entrusted to my care in order to obtain information from competent authorities with regard to their value.

Seals from Palmyra.

The string of seals includes seven in all, as follows:—

No. 1 is merely a bead, possibly of glass, and without any design.

No. 2 is a small cylinder, such as is commonly found in Assyria. These cylinders were used as seals for signing the clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions, the seal being rolled round in the wet clay. The present specimen is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. The design represents a nude female figure, holding a crook or crozier, and standing between two figures in long robes: that to the left having the hands raised, as though in prayer, and that to the right exactly corresponding, with its face turned to the central figure. The two outer figures seem to have either feathers on their heads, or else hairy ears, projecting like horns. Behind the right-hand figure are well designed representations of

a lion and a winged griphon, with an S-shaped pattern or coiled snake between them. The griphon is at the top, and the lion below the serpent.

This seal is pronounced by Mr. J. G. Pinches, the well-known Assyrian scholar, to be Assyrian, and to date about 1500 B.C. "It evidently illustrates," he says, "the descent of Ishtar into Hades. To the right is Ninkigal, Queen of Hades ; in the middle, Ishtar, deprived of her clothing and ornaments ; on the left, a divine attendant, in an attitude of worship."

Ishtar, or Ashtoreth, is the Assyrian moon goddess. A well-known myth, reported on the cuneiform tablets, relates her descent to seek Dumzi, "the son of life," in the infernal regions. This is a Semitic parallel to the seeking of Osiris by Isis, and is founded on the worship of the sun and of the moon, which is alternately separated (when full) from the sun, and joined to him (when new). Mulge, the King of Hell, and his consort Ninkigal, answer to the Greek Aidoneus and Persephone, the Indian Yama and Durga, or the Egyptian Set and Nephthys. The Accadians also believed in four kinds of genii, or demons, who were personified under the form of different beasts ; and this idea was adopted by the Assyrians after their conquest of the Accadians. Of these, the *Lamas* resembled a lion, sometimes with a human head, or with wings, while the *Nattig* was like an eagle. These deities resemble the four assessors who accompany Osiris in Hades, according to the Egyptian religion, and who are represented with the heads of animals.

It is possible that the animals represented on the seal under consideration, in connection with the infernal goddess, are intended to represent the two kinds of demons above described. The figure behind Ishtar may perhaps be Mulge himself, the Assyrian Pluto. The crook in the hand of Ishtar resembles the sceptre of Osiris, and also appears in India in connection with Krishna (the Indian Apollo). It is given to the beneficent deities, represented as shepherds guiding their flocks, and is the prototype of the Christian crozier.

No. 3, a red stone, with a design of a lion, is considered to be of Pehlevi origin, and is of no particular interest.

No. 4, a reclining bull, with holes for eyes, possibly once filled with stones, is very similar to the representations found in India of Nanda, the earth bull who supports Mahadeva. It is sometimes of colossal dimensions, and made of brass, generally represented couchant. Nanda also sometimes supports the Linga, in the worship of Siva.

Small representations, like the one in question, have been found in Assyria. Their date is uncertain, and it is not impossible that they may be of Indian origin.

No. 5 is of inferior workmanship, but apparently Assyrian. It represents two figures facing one another in prayer. That to the left bears a quiver, and perhaps represents a king. That to the right has a long beard, and may represent a priest. Above them, in the centre, is a sun or star, and between them a pair of stakes or spears, apparently joined together. A similar pair is shown behind the left-hand figure ; possibly

it is intended as a representation of the sacred tree of Asher, which was an important religious emblem (the biblical Asherah, or "grove"). The general design is like many others found on Assyrian bas-reliefs, representing a royal sacrifice.

No. 6 is a cylinder like No. 2, but larger, measuring 1 inch in length by ½ inch in diameter. The designs are not so well preserved as in the former example.

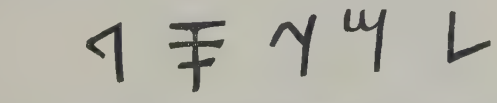
The design is thus described by Mr. Pinches:—"To the left is the moon god Sin, in the middle the owner of the seal, on the right a divine attendant in an attitude of worship." The date is supposed to be about 1500 B.C. Sin was recognised by the crescent over his head.

Careful inspection seems, however, to show a cross within the crescent, as though the design, when less worn, represented the *litu*, an emblem of the god Marduk, the Assyrian Jupiter.

Close to the central figure, on the right, is a small monkey-like figure seated, and at the top of the seal, above this, is a figure somewhat like a pig. The boar on Assyrian reliefs is used as an emblem of the sun, and the owner of the seal may thus perhaps be supposed to stand between the two great deities of sun and moon.

No. 7, a yellow jasper in the form of an Egyptian scarabæus, ⅞ inch major diameter, and ⅝ inch minor diameter. This is the most valuable of the group, and is a well cut and well preserved specimen of a Phœnician seal. The figure and symbolism, as is usual in Phœnician gems, are of Egyptian type, while the inscription of five letters beneath is in Phœnician characters. The figure in Egyptian dress is crowned with the *pechent*, or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The left hand (or the right in an impression) is raised in benediction, the other holds a sceptre with an inverted crescent on a ball at the top. In front of this figure is the Ankh, or Crux Ansata, common to Assyria and Egypt as a symbol of life; behind him is an owl, or a hawk, seated on a sceptre like that in his hand. A star is represented on each side of the head. The same design is rudely repeated at the back the seal, about half size.

The inscription is fairly legible, and when reversed on the seal it appears to read—



which in square Hebrew would read לְמכסד. This, no doubt, is the name of the owner of the seal, the ל signifying "belonging to." The name מכסד comes evidently from the root כסד, whence the word כסדי, Chaldean or Magus.

Dr. S. Birch, of the British Museum, to whom this seal was submitted, gives a description similar to that above, but calls the supposed stars "crucial emblems," and mentions that the sceptre is intended to be of papyrus.

Another Assyrian seal was purchased in Jerusalem by Rev. J. Dalton. It represents a man holding a bull up by the hind leg, and a knife in the other hand. Probably it is an early representation of the Mithraic sacrifice of the bull.

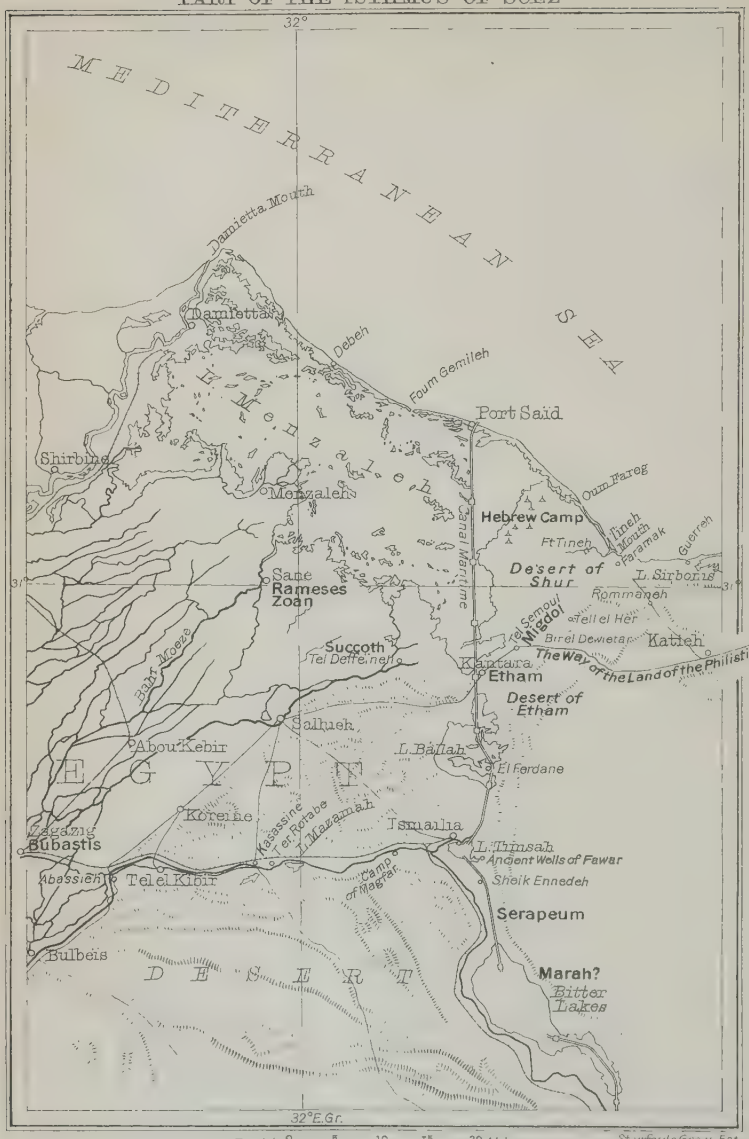
CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Captain, R.E.*

17*th July*, 1882.

ITINERARY OF THE ROYAL PARTY.

28th March,	Jaffa to Lydda	11	English miles.	
29th „	*viâ* Bethhoron to Gibeon (up and down Neby Samuîb)	20	„	„
30th „	„ Bethel to Ai	11	„	„
31st „	„ Michmash to Jerusalem	13½	„	„
4th April,	„ Solomon's Pools to Hebron	24	„	„
6th „	„ Tekoa to Bethlehem	19	„	„
7th „	„ Herodium to St. Saba	15	„	„
8th „	„ the Dead Sea to Jericho	21	„	„
10th „	across Jordan to 'Arak el Emir	20	„	„
11th „	to Rabbath Ammon	18	„	„
12th „	„ Es Salt	22	„	„
13th „	„ Gerasa	28	„	„
14th „	*viâ* Râjîb to Jordan	25	„	„
15th „	to Shechem	23	„	„
17th „	*viâ* Samaria and Dothan to Jenin	28	„	„
18th „	„ Jezreel to Carmel	26	„	„
19th „	„ Kishon River to Nazareth	13	„	„
20th „	to Mount Tabor and back	14	„	„
21st „	„ Tiberias....	17	„	„
22nd „	„ Minieh by water	16	„	„
24th „	*viâ* Safed to Kedes	21	„	„
25th „	„ Hunin to Banias	18	„	„
26th „	„ Hibbarîyeh to Hasbeiya	14	„	„
27th „	to Rasheiya	11	„	„
28th „	*viâ* Meithalun to Damascus	32	„	„
1st May,	*viâ* 'Ain Fiji to Zebdâny	26	„	„
2nd „	to Baalbek....	20	„	„
3rd „	„ Yammûneh	13	„	„
4th „	„ Zahleh	20	„	„
5th „	„ Khân Sheikh Mahmûd	16	„	„
6th „	„ Beirut	10	„	„
	Total	585½	English miles.	

PART OF THE ISTHMUS OF SUEZ



IRO

Suez
RED SEA

A FEW THOUGHTS UPON THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

Although much has been written upon the Exodus, I venture to offer these remarks simply to tell how I arrived at what appears to be the true explanation of the facts of one of the most remarkable events in the great history of God's providential care of His people.

I have read many of the various suggestions, and have received help notably from the Rev. G. J. Chester's articles in the July 1880 number of the *Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement*, from Dr. Brugsch's "L'Exode," and from Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole's thoughtful papers on "Bible Cities;"[1] but as I resided on the borders of the land of Goshen for four months, have crossed the Isthmus of Suez ten times in various directions, and have visited some of the most important sites connected with Israel in Egypt, I have had unusual opportunities for observation. Perhaps I enter upon a thankless undertaking when I point out views which exactly tally in every respect with the Bible narrative of the Exodus, though they do not agree with the generally received opinion. There is indeed a vagueness and uncertainty about that opinion, for the route of the Israelites has never been satisfactorily laid down, and some of the most important Hebrew words in connection with it have been translated with a bias incident to preconceived conclusions rather than in strict accordance with the text. This is natural, but when sceptics attempt to cast even ridicule upon the scriptural record, it becomes a duty to look boldly into the facts to see how they bear the most searching criticisms. When once I arrived at what seems to be the true route, it was only what I expected, but it was a great delight to find that the closer the investigation the clearer did the story appear.

The Church has not hitherto accepted any particular route, nor is that necessary, but it is important that there should not be the obstinate adherence to Mohammedan tradition with regard to sites, when the subject has been studied in maps, as insignificant in size as they are incorrect in geography. No wonder that with data entirely contrary to Scripture, and with ideas utterly incompatible with the geographical facts, many have arrived at false conclusions.

To confirm my personal observations, I take the Admiralty charts, Wyld's and Keith Johnstone's best maps, and the French map published at the inauguration of the Suez Canal. I have had Brugsch Bey's map, and the sketch map of the Rev. Greville Chester (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1880) before me, but it will be seen that in the main point I differ from all preconceived ideas; yet the various circumstances which serve to

[1] "Day of Rest," 1881. See also Mr. Dunbar I. Heath's very interesting paper on "Jannes and Jambres," in *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1881.

prove the extreme accuracy of the Scripture record tend to show that just at a very critical time the exact place of the miraculous deliverance has at last been found.

I was passing through the Suez Canal one day at the beginning of this year with a sceptic whose stumbling block was the miracle at the Red Sea. I explained my views ; he saw the truth, and confessed that he never could sufficiently thank me. He begged that I would publish a simple note of the facts as I had explained them to him. I have since had opportunities of mentioning them to one of the most learned Egyptologists and Bible students of the day, and have had the advantage of the kindly criticism of one of the first Hebrew professors, as well as that of one of the most profound Greek scholars, of the age. But I cannot expect that this new sketch of an event so grand and so majestic will be generally accepted until it has been carefully wrought out into a perfect picture that can be looked into closely ; but even this sketch, as it is, may interest many more than those who have persuaded me to let it be published.

I take the "field of Zoan" as the place where the great wonders were set forth before Pharaoh (Psalm lxxviii, 13, v), until he would let the people of Israel go. *There* is the Zan of to-day, the great city of Rameses II, the place where splendid monuments are still to be seen scattered and shattered on the hill side, but with inscriptions as sharp cut as if finished yesterday—Zoan, "the place of departure," is represented now by an insignificant village on the Tanic branch of the Nile. There are no mounds in all Goshen[1] equal to the hills of Zoan. From the top of these hills all the land of Goshen can be seen. When the bond slaves were free to go forth, from all the plain they would be pressing towards the point where the roads centered upon the one which led to the Promised Land. All the Hebrews had been well warned (Exodus xii, 4, 6), and would be ready to move on the very day when the first Passover feast was done. That very night they were thrust out by the Egyptians. Their rendezvous was the wilderness, and their goal was the Promised Land. "Three days' journey" would take them to the "wilderness." This was all that Moses had first asked for, that they might worship. The exact place in the wilderness is defined. The road across the desert was before them, "but God led them not that way." "By strength of hand the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt, and it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near*, for God said, lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the ים־סוף (*Yam Suph*) 'Sea of Reeds,' and the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt."[2]

God caused them to turn and not go by the direct route, lest they might have been harassed by the Egyptians all the way, and might have

[1] Goshen, "the land of shepherds."
[2] Ex. xiii, 17.

given up their flight in despair. They were to go in a direction where they would, by the power of God, be delivered, and the whole army of the pursuers be destroyed. The Egyptians, *not the Philistines*, were the enemies they had then to fear.

I might here refer to other authorities, but as Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, one of the best of all, accepts Zoan as the starting point, and appears to be quite clear that the way by the western side of the Red Sea, south of Suez, was not the route taken,[1] I will now try to define the exact course. I quite acknowledge that we may well say: "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path is in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known,"[2] yet as it is not God's footsteps, but those of His people we are attempting to trace, the effort to arrive at the truth is not presumptuous when we take the Holy Scriptures as our guide.

The Israelites under Moses set out from Rameses[3] the royal city, which is identified with Zoan. Their first camping place was Succoth (*booths*);[4] in that district the people dwell in booths at the present day; the next, Etham, identified by the Khetham of the Egyptian papyri, translated by Brugsch Bey. The Royal Palace at Rameses, the halting place in Succoth, and the border "fortress" Etham, are all mentioned in extant documents, one day's journey intervening, and at Etham the way to Syria is in front. Here "the Lord spake unto Moses saying, speak unto the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal Zephon" (Exodus xiv, 2). This Migdol is mentioned in the Roman itinerarium. Baal Zephon is the "*northern Baal*," so is to be sought for on the *north* coast of Egypt. Pi-hahiroth is "*the place of Gulfs*," or quicksands, therefore close to the sea.

I visited Zoan by way of the Yam Suph;[5] I passed through Succoth, and afterwards, by the Suez Canal *viâ* Kantara, went to the place where Etham on the borders of the wilderness ought to be found. There were ruins of a large city: some Arabs with a herd of young camels were resting near. I copied the frieze of part of a completely ruined temple, on which was the cartouche or shield with the name of Rameses II rather rudely cut in red granite. I inquired of the different Arabs who went with me "Where is Migdol?" They all agreed in the direction, and pointed towards the sea, and said it was distant about half a day's journey. This only confirmed what others have mentioned. In the French map of the Suez Canal it is called "the Migdol of the Bible."

Many a time had I gazed over the desert between Migdol and the sea, and watched the mirage lift up the land into little islands on the horizon. It was difficult to tell where the land ended and the sea began. On the verge of the great sea there is *a long narrow bank of sand*, stretching for many miles along the coast westward, and always dry excepting at one point,

[1] Lecture at Kensington, 1882. See also *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881, page 107. By Rev. G. J. Chester.

[2] Psalm lxxvii, 19.

[3] Numbers xxxiii, 4.

[4] Here they may have cut the reeds for shelter.

[5] יַם־סוּף

where, in strong westerly gales the sea washes through. This bank of land could readily hold the whole host of fugitives. Within this bank was a great inland sea. On the eastern shore the Israelites would, as directed, encamp. Then came the alarm that the Egyptians had followed them to cut off their retreat, and thus "entangled in the land," for "the wilderness shut them in," Moses and his followers were caught in a trap. "And when Pharaoh drew nigh the children of Israel lifted up their eyes and behold the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid, and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord."[1]

The map herewith explains the probable position of the Hebrew camp. The Scripture narrative explains the rest. There is the terror in the evening, the strong east wind, the sea going back, the night made dark to the pursuers, and light to the pursued. There is the midnight march through the midst of the sea, the disastrous pursuit in the early morning. The dry land, with the sea as a defence on the right hand and on the left, safely reached by the Israelites, and then the great catastrophe to the Egyptians. All this happened near the sea, the great sea, and yet it was in the Yam Suph, which is translated Red Sea, that the miraculous deliverance took place. Exodus xv, 4; Joshua ii, 10; Psalm cvi, 9—all "Sea of Reeds" in the Hebrew.

The Suez Canal has cut off the east end of the Yam Suph, and has cut through the bank of sand. The Arabs tell of the remains of buildings on the east shore of the sea near to where Pi-hahiroth was. Cities have been built there, and have become ruins,[2] other armies in the pride of conquest have been overwhelmed at this very place.

There have been many changes, no doubt, within the last 3,196 years;[3] but still at this same sea, even west of the canal, when there is a "strong east wind," the sea goes back, so rapidly, indeed, that shoals of fish are left dead on the shore, the sea is changed into dry land, and the waves flow back, and a way is opened through the midst of the sea, a practicable roadway for a host. "The Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided." The Hebrew word[4] here used for divided is the same verb as that employed in reference to two other memorable miracles connected with water, namely, when all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened at the time of the flood,[5] and when mention is made in the Psalms[6] of the water flowing from the rock. Bearing this in mind we can understand how this sea was put under the power of Moses's rod, for the very same word is used by Isaiah[6] when he mentions the same miraculous interposition of Providence at this

[1] Exodus xiv, 10.
[2] Pelusium, Sin; both names mean "mud," and may refer to one city.
[3] Taking the Exodus at 1314 B.C.
[4] בקע
[5] Gen. vii, 11. נבקעו
[6] Psalm lxxiv, 15. ובקע
Isaiah lxiii, 12.

very crisis. The Lord's words to Moses were, "Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea and divide it, and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea."

On the spot one can quite imagine the scene, and the joyful surprise of the despairing fugitives when they saw the waters flow back and the bed of the sea quickly become dry; then they took courage: "And the children of Israel went *into*[1] the midst of the sea upon the dry ground." The sea would, we may suppose, go back so far as to secure the safety of all the fugitives, and enable them to march through the midst of the sea, and deploy upon that long bank of sand. The rearward would see those in front bend towards the west, and in a long long line be marching between the seas, with the great blue horizon of the Mediterranean filling up the distance. For just when the first of the fugitives had passed through the midst of the sea at this place to which we have traced them, they would find—and this is very remarkable—that they had arrived at a very sanctuary, where the sea became a wall of defence to them on the right hand and on the left. So God protected them from their enemies. "Judah was His sanctuary, and Israel His dominion. *The sea saw—and fled!*" Thus the Psalmist *exactly* describes what I have endeavoured to explain, and this Psalm (the cxiv) was used by the Jews in their service of the feast of the Passover, and is a proper Psalm appointed by our Church for Easter Day!

The Israelites had passed from before Pi-hahiroth, the sea had fled before them, they had walked on dry land in the midst of the sea; the sea became a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left; every circumstance tends to confirm the probable identification. We can see how the chariot wheels broke, and how they drave heavily. We can see how the one sea was driven back, and how the great sea broke through, and how the earth swallowed them up.

I have walked in the midst of the sea near this very Pi-hahiroth, "the place of abysses." When the sea was gone, the ground was so dry it scarcely took the impression of a camel's foot; I pressed the ferrule end of a walking stick into the ground, suddenly, after going in a few inches, the stick was swallowed up nearly to the hilt. This shows the character of the ground to be exactly such as we find in the sacred record, for when the Egyptians deliberately followed the Israelites into the midst of the sea, "even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, his horsemen. And it came to pass that in the morning watch the Lord looked into the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels that they drave them heavily; so the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." The miracle of destruction begins, the waters return to their place in their strength. "Thou didst blow with Thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters." Thus does Moses in his song describe the

[1] The word *into* should be rendered through, as ב is not used of motive either to or in a place, it is used of the means or instrument. See Exodus xiv, 16, quoted above, where ב is translated "through."

catastrophe ; and in the 12th verse he adds : "The earth swallowed them ;" so the locality is very closely defined, and Pi-hahiroth is indeed the place of gulfs ! Joshua (xxiv, 6, 7) very distinctly recognises the position and the action of the two seas—the Mediterranean and the Yam Suph. "I brought your fathers out of Egypt, and ye came unto *the* sea ; the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red Sea (Yam Suph). And when they cried unto the Lord, He put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought *the sea* upon them, and covered them." It is precisely at this place the Mediterranean breaks through.

Moses and his people were safe on the dry ground, the sea was a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left ; they could see the utter overthrow of their enemies ; they could see how the wind not only carried back the waters over the midst of the sea, but how the foaming billows stood upright as a heap. It is grand to see the great waves from this place of refuge, the narrow bank, where the sea is a defence upon the right hand and upon the left, when there is a strong gale from the west, the surf runs very high, and threatens to overwhelm the long strip of land where the Israelites found themselves so secure. The great sea itself was a new wonder to these bond slaves, who had been accustomed to look out through a forest of reeds upon the placid sea which borders the plain of Zoan. The very reeds make a natural breakwater, so that there can be no surf upon the southern shore of Lake Menzaleh. Their first impression of the mighty waves that appeared to threaten them, but were kept within bounds and spent their strength upon the open beach of "the great Sea" must have astonished the Israelites as much as when the sea went back and became a way for the ransomed to pass over !

Excepting on Chesil Beach, and on the south coast of Ceylon, I never saw such a glorious surf. Indeed, at one point, and that just about where the Army of Pharaoh would feel its effects most terribly, when there is a west wind the sea breaks through, and adds its force to flood the very land which the east wind made dry.[1]

But what is still more remarkable, this region of these miracles has become, in these modern days, under the overruling providence of the Most High, the very spot where people from all nations are being led. From the west side of the outer bank of the Suez Canal, where it passes through the Yam Suph, that sea can be *seen going back* when there is a strong east wind ! Is it at the scene of the miraculous deliverance that a great central port is being formed, with every probability of its becoming the chief port for the Holy Land ? Is this to be the very place to which the scattered people of God will come when the time of ingathering arrives ? They are already coming in increasing numbers each succeeding year. *Will the place of the Exodus be the open gate of the return ?*[2]

[1] The place where the sea breaks through is marked on the Admiralty chart of Port Said.

[2] See Jeremiah xxiii, 7, 8, where the great miracle of the return is made to eclipse entirely the miracle of the Exodus.

What is to be the future of Port Said and the Canal? Were it not that I saw the beginning of this new wonder, the opening up of this way for all nations to pass through, this centre for all, and especially for God's people who are scattered abroad, I would not have dared to scrutinise so closely this story of the Exodus; but when I thought I saw signs of a great miracle that has only now begun, I was led to look out for any signs there of God's doings in the past, and I think that it is not only possible but probable that the one event points inevitably to the other: for He "who knoweth our thoughts long before, has made His plans from the beginning." This new view of the scene of the Exodus takes nothing away from its miraculous character as a providential interposition prepared and carried out, and as every detail tallies with the Scripture record as to when, where, and how, it seems to me to become even more extraordinary that before this elucidation of that which has been hid for more than thirty centuries, the greatest highway for all nations had been made, the preparations for the still greater miracle of the incoming had been actually going on at the very place where Moses sang his prophetic hymn, which is one of the songs of heaven, "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever!" (Ex. xv, 17, 18).

I believe that those maps which confine their information to geographical facts will best help in clearing up the difficulties that have perplexed for centuries the searching after truth. Much may yet be discovered by painstaking explorers, for Lower Egypt is fallow ground in the great field of research. Even where we follow up the Exodus from the place where everything serves to prove that the miraculous deliverance happened, we at once come upon the names of deserts, not of towns. There is first the wilderness of Shur, close to Pi-hahiroth (*compare* Numbers xxxiii, with Exodus xv, 22). Shur means "wall." In Wyld's map the site of this wall is given. At the time of the Exodus it had already been built nearly 150 years, and as no trace of it is visible on the surface, it was probably built only of crude bricks, or of mounds of sand, as a breastwork defence against the Shepherd Kings, perhaps the Pharaohs of Joseph's day, who were driven out before Moses's time. The oppressors of the Israelites knew not Joseph. Rameses the Great had become a mighty conqueror; he had his chariots and horsemen, his fortresses and towers (his Ethams and Migdols). The wall would soon become useless as a defence, for the sands in the desert of Shur are constantly on the move. However, from that desert the Israelites went onward to the wilderness of Etham (Numbers xxxiii, 8), so that they went back by the same way they had come, after they turned as God commanded, so as not to go by "the way of the land of the Philistines." Their enemies were destroyed, they had seen them dead on the sea-shore. When the Israelites returned, the signs of deliverance were seen in the tokens of God's victory, on the very verge of the field of battle, where the natural forces were His weapons of destruction.

not accept the name by which the Hebrews had called it—these had gone centuries before the Greeks came—nor need they adopt the name the Egyptians gave it, which had the same signification as that of the Hebrews (the Coptic Bible has the same); but by whatever channel the Greeks entered Egypt, and especially if they entered through the strip of sand into this inland sea, they would find their galleys floating on a coloured sea, *red*, with sand of a reddish colour, and more and more red at the time of the inundations of the Nile. (Sharpe in his History of Egypt says "the Nile reaches the Delta red with Ethiopian soil.") The inner border next to Goshen is lined with reeds, so that at the present day the entrance to the Tanic branch, which leads to Zoan, is invisible from the Yam Suph; but, thanks to floating buoys of reeds, the channel can be traced and the river entered. On my way to Zoan I crossed this sea with a glorious breeze; it is quite a sea, for from its centre its own horizon bounds it, but the broken edges of mirage-like islands tell that land is near. Its waters are salt; the hundreds of beautiful lateen sails that are its only ornament show what a busy place it might be, were there myriads of slaves to keep up the embankments that in Egypt's golden days held back this salt water from the land of Zoan when the Nile mingled its flood with the lagoon of this Sea of Reeds. That long narrow strip of dry ground before mentioned prevented the ready exit of the water of the Nile into the Mediterranean, and still prevents it; so when the inundations come, part of the once fertile field of Zoan becomes a brackish marsh, for the waters of the sea and river intermingle and flood the plain. The exits to the sea are few and shallow.

There is yet another way to account for the Yam Suph being called the Red Sea. Although Herodotus and others mention the Red Sea, and carry the same name to the Persian Gulf, and even confound it with the Indian Ocean, we can trace the Grecian title into earlier times, and perhaps it was not from the colour of the water but from the name of the kingdom of a mythological king, the "Erythrian Sea" received its Grecian name. The story goes that the parents of Andromeda ruled in Ethiopia and claimed for their daughter a purer type of beauty than even that of the loveliest nymphs of the sea. Neptune was petitioned to punish such presumption; he sent a terrible flood over the land (the inundation of the Nile perhaps), and this could only be assuaged by the sacrifice of Andromeda; but Perseus, returning from his victory over Medusa, recovered the Ethiopian princess, and she became his bride. Erythras, the son born of this union, became the sovereign of the kingdom, and the sea upon the coast was known thereafter as the *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*. When the mythological story was forgotten, the sea bordering upon Egypt kept the same name, and more modern translators called it the "Red Sea;" but as the limits of the kingdom of Erythras were never known, we can see how the name eventually was given to all the seas beyond even the limits of Cleopatra's power. But, after all, the mythical king might have received his name from the veritable sea, just as the Yam Suph may have got its Grecian name from its veritable colour.

In the direct narrative of the Exodus the one word sea (ים) is generally used. But when the plan of the route is given for the Israelites to take—they were not to go by "the way of the land of the Philistines," although that was near—we are told that God led the people about, made them to turn towards the wilderness of the Yam Suph, which we choose to translate as the Red Sea. Moses in his song uses the same words, as well as the single word for sea. To the Hebrews *the sea* is always the Mediterranean, just as to Job, who dwelt in Arabia, we may suppose the sea he so frequently refers to was the modern Red Sea; it was the great sea to him, therefore one that needed no special local designation. But this special designation was needed for Moses at Migdol, because the Mediterranean was in front, the Sea of Sarbonis to the east, the Yam Suph, or Sea of Reeds, to the west, and by *that* he was to move to the encampment to which God had commanded him to go. I look at the Old Testament and I find places where Yam Suph is translated Red Sea, some undoubtedly referring to the place of the miracle of the Exodus. In the New Testament there are only two places where the Red Sea is named: those of course are found in the Greek, but that Greek is in both places the natural translation of the Septuagint words, for Yam Suph had come to be accepted as *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*, wherever that might be. The word was unintelligible to the Greeks, but intelligible to the Hebrews, and in accordance with the Hebrew text, was probably, in both instances in the New Testament, first used *in Hebrew;* for in one case St. Stephen was speaking in Hebrew to the Jews, and in another case the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was trying to convince his countrymen of the truths of Christianity and the power of faith. There are doubts about whether the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, although Clement of Alexandria says it was;[1] but there can be no doubt of this, that when we offer to the Jews the New Testament in Hebrew, we tell them that the miracle took place at this same Yam Suph! In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament we do not translate the English or the Greek words: we go back to the ancient Hebrew, so that there may be no mistake, and adopt the words that Moses used, which are ים־סוף (Yam Suph).

But there are places in the Holy Scriptures which doubtless refer to the modern Red Sea, or rather to the Gulf of Akaba, for in most cases that seems to be the point referred to when the modern Red Sea is mentioned.[2] Here we must go back to the Hebrew, and also to the Greek text. The latter is a guide to the former, for in one place (Judges xi, 16) we find *Ζιφ θάλασσης*, and in another (1 Kings ix, 26) *ἐσχάτης θαλάσσης*, the localities being identical; the first is an attempt, perhaps,

[1] *See* Wordsworth's introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

[2] Elim, the encampment after Marah, has not been accurately defined. It seems to be probable that Elim (Numb. xxxiii, 9, and Ex. xv, 27), Elath (Deut. ii, 8), and Eloth (1 Kings ix, 26), are identical. The meaning is the same in Hebrew, high trees.

to distinguish one sea from the other, the יַם־סוּף (Yam Soph), from the יָם־סוּף (Yam Suph), while the second is a translation of the first, namely, "the end or head of the sea," near Eziongaber.

I can only state these facts to show that the view I take of the Exodus while fully coinciding with the Scripture narrative, almost forces us to accept the simple truth without having to be troubled with inconclusive conjectures as to localities; for these must continue to be inconclusive when they do not tally with the truth and have no satisfactory foundation. I have read the facts written, as it were, before me indelibly upon the very ground, though they were originally written on water and on sand, yet they cannot be blotted out if true. I have not been looking at a mirage, for I have had firm hold of the Bible, and have been looking at that which is most real and true. My view has not been confined to the history that is past, I am watching what is passing now, and I am waiting for the fulfilment of events that have been foretold in Scripture relative to God's loving care for His people. Our faith in the future is strengthened the more clearly we can see the Lord's goodness in events that have passed by. It was by that very "way of the land of the Philistines" where the Israelites were forbidden to travel, that our Saviour probably was carried, in the helplessness of infancy, into Egypt, and although tradition may fix the place of sojourn far away in the interior, beyond the land of Goshen, would He not find a ready shelter on the frontier, not far from the very place where Moses, as an infant, was rescued from the waters which flowed into the sea wherein the enemies of God's people were overwhelmed, and where that first great victory was won?

Whatever may have happened in that region may yet be excelled by signs more wonderful, and by events which will still more add to God's glory. There will be no doubt then as to the place; it is identified in prophecy of the last days: it is there called "the tongue of the Egyptian sea," a name which may still be a mystery, but the mystery will be revealed "when men go over dryshod, and when the Lord shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."[1]

How quickly they are now learning the way, we can see at Port Saïd, and when the time of wandering is over the journey to the Land of Promise will be short, for the way thither, "by the way of the land of the Philistines," is nigh!

"I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way," is the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxi, 9); this may prove to mean the straight canal going through the streams of the Delta, not far from the southern border of the Holy Land, as defined by Joshua (xv, 4, 47): supposed by some ancient translators (says Gesenius) to denote El Arish, the boundary between Syria and Egypt (*vide* the Hebrew text).

This sketch may be filled up more perfectly by those who have time and opportunity for research in different versions of the Bible. I only

[1] Isaiah xi.

venture to put it forward as pointing, perhaps, to the right direction for further research, and exploration on land.

Political events of great importance attract much attention to these regions, but this paper is meant rather for thoughtful students than for the casual glance of those who are merely interested in the events of the day. It is sent as a contribution to the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, as it attemps to clear the way for other and perhaps more interesting discoveries that may throw light upon events in Bible History, and serve to prove the accuracy of the narrative, especially at the very points where, from want of knowledge or from want of faith, some have been led to doubt.

Holy Trinity Vicarage,
Milton-next-Gravesend,
September, 1882.

JOHN SCARTH.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

GEOGRAPHY.

Mr. GLAISHER presented the report of the Committee, consisting of himself, the Rev. Canon Tristram, and the Rev. F. Lawrence, appointed for the purpose of promoting the Survey of Eastern Palestine. It was as follows :—

We have to report, as regards the Survey of Eastern Palestine, that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund were able, in the spring of last year, to organize and equip an expedition for the execution of this important work. They were able to secure the services of Captain Conder, R.E., formerly in charge of the Survey of Western Palestine, and they were granted by the War Office the services of Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., a young officer who had recently left Chatham. They were also able to re-engage Messrs. Black and Armstrong, now pensioners of the Royal Engineers. The party left England on March 16th, 1881, arriving at Beyrout early in April. Their instructions were, on receiving the instruments, which were not quite ready when they left England, to begin the Survey in the north, and to make as much use of the friendly Druzes as possible. Unfortunately, a revolt of these people made work in the Hauran impossible, and it was finally decided by Captain Conder to commence in the south, where it appeared probable that operations could be conducted with safety. Accordingly, he led his party across the Jordan, and commenced and carried on the Survey for some months. Unfortunately, it had been discovered by the Turkish authorities that the Firman with which our party worked was one issued by a former Sultan, and that it did not convey the

power of working east of the Jordan. Peremptory orders were received from Constantinople that the work was to be stopped immediately. But by this time 500 square miles of the Survey had been accomplished. Efforts were made by the Foreign Office, by Lord Dufferin, and by Captain Conder himself, to obtain a new Firman. The matter is so far advanced that a Firman has been promised ; but it is not yet signed. Captain Conder kept his party in winter quarters at Jerusalem, where they were employed in laying down the works and calculating the observations and making fair drawings of the plans. In the April of the year Their Royal Highnesses Princes Edward and George of Wales reached Palestine, and Captain Conder was commanded to attend them on their tour, which lasted six weeks. In the course of the journey the Mosque of Hebron was visited, and an accurate plan taken by Captain Conder. The party also spent a week on the eastern side of the Jordan. Captain Conder retired from the country on May 22nd of this year. Before leaving Palestine he received notice from his Excellency the British Ambassador that the new Firman had been finally approved by the Minister of Public Instruction, and submitted by him to the Porte for confirmation. He has brought home with him the finished map, on the scale of one inch to the mile, of 500 square miles, together with many new photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell, and volumes of notes, special plans, drawings, etc. He is now occupied in working up for publication the notes and information collected by him. This will occupy him about five months. The results of this campaign have been, among other things, the discovery of a vast number of cromlechs and rude stone monuments. Many of them had been discovered previously by Canon Tristram, but Captain Conder has established the fact that this part of Moab was a great centre of the form of religious worship of which these monuments are the remains. He suggests that among them are the altars of Balak. He has proposed identifications for Baal Peor, the field of Zophim, the Ascent of Luhith, Jazer, Sibmah, and Minnith—six biblical places previously unknown ; he has collected a great quantity of Arab folk-lore, with tribe marks and traditions ; he has found a most remarkable building of Persian character at Ammân ; and he has made a collection of sketches and plans of the greatest value. In fact, the work done on the east of the Jordan will be found to be in every way equal to that done in the west and already published ; he has also made numerous geological observations. But besides the Survey, Captain Conder found time to do a great deal of work on this side of the river. He discovered Kadesh, the ancient capital of the Hittites ; he has measured and planned the Siloam Tunnel, and make a copy of the inscription ; and he has discovered and planned what he suggests may be nothing less than the real Holy Sepulchre. It is hoped that the party may again, before long, take the field, without fear of obstruction or opposition, in a work which has no political significance, but is of extraordinary interest to all who are interested in the lands and people of the Bible.

Mr. Cyril Graham said : I am glad of this occasion, when a great number of those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in its widest sense,

are come together, to urge, as I have repeatedly urged at various other times, not only upon those whom I see around me, but upon the outside world—by which expression I wish to designate the great mass of our clergy of all denominations, scattered throughout Great Britain, and a vast number of the laity, who, though not able to attend our meetings, take a lively interest in our proceedings, and would take a still livelier interest were they subscribers to it—the great claims of our Fund upon all those who thirst for a more and more minute knowledge of the countries, places, and scenes referred to in the Scriptures.

For the moderate sum of one pound per annum, the contributor obtains four numbers, published quarterly, embodying an official account of the most recent explorations made in the Holy Land, and affording food for all kinds of minds. A glance at one of our little volumes will show that while one who is versed in the science of oriental literature, languages, and research, may well have his attention taxed, the next page may contain the description of a site or of a building, comprehensible and deeply interesting to the millions who, with a less technical training, read the Old and New Testaments.

Now in spite of all that has been done, from the commencement of our operations in 1865 until the present date—and I wish to call your attention to the fact, that within this comparatively short period of time we have not only verified many sites and excavated them, made several series of photographs, and in the face of great difficulties completed a Survey of Palestine to the west of Jordan, the results of which appear in the maps which are now at your disposal, the whole of this great work, be it remembered, having been carried out by the Royal Engineers, and at our expense—we have a still harder task before us.

In the beginning we had a slight financial assistance from the Government ; but, as far as I am aware, this has long since ceased, except perhaps in the form of the loan of a man-of-war who might be cruising off the coast of Syria, and be willing under orders to carry home certain objects of inestimable archæological value, which, from time to time, have been presented to the British Museum. A list of the officers and men who have worked for us deserves special recognition. All of them, without exception, regardless of climate, and the many dangers to which explorers are otherwise subjected in the East, exposed themselves until either sickness compelled them to leave Syria, or the command of duty to leave us for other work. Our honoured President (Mr. Glaisher) has told you of the difficulties we have recently encountered with regard to the Imperial Ottoman Firman, the purport of which was to give us leave to do what we liked in the matter of excavations to the east of Jordan. I will not enter into this subject just now, as we are at the present moment bankrupt, if I may use the expression, in officers. The other day we had four ready, with their men, to take our field at an hour's notice ; yet so valuable were they, so distinguished were they in their own service, that at a minute's notice they were taken from us and impounded by Sir Garnet Wolseley. All these delays and unavoidable accidents—for I neither grudge my friend Sir

Garnet Wolseley the assistance of such men, nor the gallant officers their great opportunity of winning new honours in their noble profession; besides which I have complete confidence that the Egyptian affair will not occupy many weeks, and that they may then be restored to us—have paralyzed our resources, and I can only entreat those who are hearty in our work to come to the front and support us. We want to do for the eastern side of Jordan what we have done for the western. As it is, we have "probed" the eastern side, but we have a farlarger area of research before us there, and the exploration of those regions will be attended with very much greater expense, danger, difficulties, and probable hindrances than any of the like kind which we have hitherto encountered.

Mr. T. Saunders, of the India Office, enlarged upon the additions which had been made by these explorations to biblical and other knowledge, and mentioned many interesting points which might still be cleared up if the means were supplied.

Mr. R. C. Johnson gave an instance to show the importance of an early completion of the Survey on the eastern side of the Jordan. In 1872 he had visited, in the company of Canon Tristram, the well-preserved ruin of the façade of a palace built by the Sassanian monarch, Chosroes the Second, at Mashita, 30 miles north-east of the Dead Sea, but regretted to inform the meeting that at a visit paid to these parts by Canon Tristram last winter, he had found that during this interval the façade had been very materially injured by the Arabs.

Sir E. Ommanney moved the reappointment of the committee, which was agreed to, and some of the members handed donations to Mr. Glaisher for the prosecution of the work.

ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN CONDER.[1]

The Western Survey required a very large amount of work in England, and I was engaged by the Society for several years in preparing it for publication. When its preparation was considerably advanced, it was proposed that a survey of the country on the east side of the Jordan, including Moab and Gilead, and the country up to as far as Damascus, should be undertaken on the same scale, with the same accuracy, and with the same objects as those for which the Western Survey was undertaken. Those objects are not merely the production of a

[1] This address was given at a meeting held at the town residence of Mrs. Greer, Regent's Park.

map, which might perhaps be considered to be rather a dry matter, but the map was undertaken in order to ensure that every square mile of the country should be gone over, and that no ancient monuments of any kind that might throw light on the study of the Bible might by any accident be left behind in the course of taking the ordinary travelling routes through the country. It was felt that if the surveyors were obliged to go down into every valley and up every hill they would hardly fail to see whatever there was of archæological interest in the country.

The Society sent us out in March of last year; we reached Syria, and having some little time to wait before our stores and instruments arrived, Lieutenant Mantell and myself made a journey into northern Syria, with a view of exploring the site of one of the great Hittite cities, and I have every reason to believe our explorations were very satisfactory. I purpose to say something more about that later on.

When we got back from this preliminary exploration and arrived at Beyrout, we ascertained from the local authorities, who were extremely kind to us, and had special orders to do all they could to help us, that the Governor of Syria had informed them that no operations in the way of explorations of any kind were to be allowed to English or other officers, or any European, without express orders from Constantinople. They had received very stringent orders to that effect, and the Lieutenant-Governor stated he not only could not give us any assistance, but should be obliged to prevent our working. With regard to that I may say it occurred more than fifteen months ago, and we have been working ever since. I will say a few words as to how we managed to do it. In the first instance we found that the Druzes, who inhabit the land there, were all in rebellion against the Turks, and a cordon of Turkish soldiers had been drawn round the district, making it impossible to enter it, although, of course, it was one we resolved to enter. Of course the further you get from the centre of Government, the less is known by the central authorities as to what is going on, and as we were anxious to get as far off from the central authorities as we could, we transferred the base of our operations to the south, and entered into some preliminary negociations to see if the local authorities were willing to assist us. We found, however, they were very wide awake indeed. They would not only not recognise us, though they knew us well as old explorers, but they telegraphed the fact of our presence to Damascus, and set spies over us to prevent our proceeding with the work. Our work lay on the opposite side of the Jordan, and the Governor of that province resided on the east, so that if we had gone over immediately we should have fallen into his hands. I was very much afraid the chance of our doing any work would be but a small one; but we had fortunately some good friends in the Government, some Christians who were informed we were in the country, and were very happy to do all they could to help us. Having got our instruments, we proceeded as far as Heshbon, and made arrangements for camping and so on. By that time I got information that the Governor had heard we were living in the district of

Moab, and it being impossible to go on there, we thought it better to remove further to the south, and to make arrangements with the local Sheikhs in Moab.

The Sheikhs were not aware of any disagreement between us and the Government, and the Government were not aware we were in Moab, so for a time we had it all our own way. We pitched our camp at the bottom of a ravine where we could not be seen from a distance, and worked for two months in that way. At last Turkish troops came down on the east of our district. We moved as far as we could from them, but unfortunately, though we had subsidised one tribe that ruled over the country, we forgot to subsidise the opposition tribe, whose territory we wished to enter, and of course would have paid for living in their country. There had been a very serious fight between these two large tribes, one of the principal Sheikhs had been killed, and the feeling was very bitter, and consequently in order to avenge themselves one tribe wrote off to the Waly of Damascus, and informed him that the rival tribe were no longer loyal subjects of the Sultan, that they were receiving into their country English officers who were surveying it, and that they intended to occupy the country and proclaim English rule. The consequence was the whole thing was blown about our ears, and orders were issued all through the country to every Governor that soldiers were to be sent, and that we were to be turned out of the country and not allowed to stay there. In pursuance of that threat the Mutessarif came after us. We heard of his coming and removed the camp further east some distance, and established it again at the bottom of a ravine; and he came to the old camping-ground and found we were flown. He sent soldiers after us, but the soldiers were induced to say they could not find us. However, they were still determined not to allow us to go on, and consequently they sent soldiers down southwards to intercept us; we heard through our Christian friends that the soldiers were coming, and so we made a forced march up towards the north. The soldiers went down to the south, looked about for three or four days, could not find us, went back and so reported.

In the period of quiet which followed the explorations went steadily onwards; we were for some time in hiding in the ravines; but at last when we got to one of the most interesting sites in the whole country they found us, and served notice to quit upon us, and said we must leave the country. We remonstrated, and pointed out that we had been guilty of no crime, that we were well known, and had never done any harm; but it was of no use; and it ended by my referring the matter to the English Consul at Jerusalem.

The operations had been going on for under three months, during which time we surveyed about 160 square miles, and got a large number of notes. Then they came back with peremptory orders that we were to go at once; so I sent the instruments and so on back to Jerusalem for the winter quarters; and while in winter quarters Lieutenant Mantell worked out the field work of the 500 square miles' survey.

By those means, after having been in the field for three months, we succeeded in doing 500 square miles, or rather the field work for it, and in collecting a larger number of really interesting notes than we probably have ever done in similar work in Palestine before. It was a very unfortunate thing we were stopped, but it would have been very foolish to have gone on, after we were actually in the hands of the Government, as it would have compromised the Society, and made it almost impossible for them to hope to get any firman or any assistance from the Turks in future. We therefore thought it better to stop, when we could no longer avoid the Turks, and come back with the results ; and I am happy to say we do not appear to have fallen much into the bad graces of the Turks, who are very much accustomed to think that as long as you can avoid the Government it is all perfectly fair. Then as I say, when we arrived at this state of things, we started for Jerusalem, went into winter quarters, and proceeded to work out the results. During the winter the Society sent me up to Constantinople to represent our case there. I was received with great kindness by Lord Dufferin, who did all he could for us, and at last succeeded in getting a promise that we should have a firman. The firman was actually drawn up, signed and submitted to the Porte for ratification, but it has not yet been received. In the present crisis it is impossible to suppose the British Ambassador can employ himself to advance such a comparatively small matter from a national point of view ; but we hope when the crisis is over, we shall get the authority we want, and shall be able to go on with the survey of Eastern Palestine very satisfactorily indeed. The Arabs are very well disposed towards us, the country is an extremely interesting one, and comparatively easy to survey as compared with the west, and the party that has been sent out have hitherto succeeded in getting their results so rapidly, that I should hope in two or three years at most it would be possible to complete the survey on the eastern side on the same principle as that on the west. What we have done hitherto has gone to show that the country on the east, though it has been visited by several well known explorers, contains an immense amount of new material ; and that whereas our work on the west might be said to be merely completing the work of other travellers, our work in the east is in an almost entirely new field, and full of monuments of the greatest interest in the elucidation of Bible history.

We have also laid the foundation of the survey, which is a great point in its speedy execution.

We have measured our base lines, established our triangles, and ascertained the positions of the different tribes, and having got all that information, when we get to work I feel sure we could with great rapidity finish off the work if we get the necessary firman to do it, and there is reason to suppose we shall.

On my return from Constantinople, it became extremely doubtful what we were to do ; but almost immediately, within a week after I came back to Jerusalem, the two sons of the Prince of Wales (Prince Edward and

Prince George) arrived in Palestine, and hearing I had been a long time in the country and knew something about it, they commanded me to escort them through the country, and they did what no European Prince has done for at least 600 years, they crossed the Jordan and spent a week in Mount Gilead, and travelled over some of the most interesting parts of the country east of the Jordan. It seems to me to have been a very plucky thing on their part to do, and no doubt it will be a great thing for the Society in showing the interest taken by the Princes during their stay there in the work of the Society.

Several very interesting discoveries were made during their tour, which extended over a part of the country which had been surveyed, and over part not surveyed.

They also visited the Haram of Hebron, which is built over the tombs of the patriarchs, and has not been visited by Europeans, I believe, since the Prince of Wales visited it about twenty years ago.

We were able to make further discoveries in the Haram, and to see certain portions of it which were not seen by the Prince of Wales and Dean Stanley, and also to make an accurate plan of the internal arrangements, and to form a very good idea of the extent and position of the great caves underneath. In reference to that I think the Princes showed a great deal of good feeling with regard to the Moslems in not insisting upon entering the caves, it being understood that if there was an entrance to the caves, they would be allowed to go there. When in the Mosque, the Sheikh of the Mosque represented to us that entrance could only be obtained by taking up certain flooring of the Mosque, and the Princes said they would not wish to do anything that would be considered a desecration of the Mosque, and therefore they gave up the idea of actually descending into the caves.

The description of that visit, and of the discoveries made during the course of that tour, have formed the subject of a long report which is to be submitted to the Prince of Wales, and will afterwards, I hope, be published by the Palestine Exploration Fund ; it will be one of the very interesting results of the last campaign out in West and East Palestine.

With regard to the work we have done, the question of course arises whether the results have been worth the amount of trouble that has been expended on them. I am inclined myself to think that the results of this last year's work have been more important in some respects than any we have yet obtained.

In the first instance the name of the great Hittite city I alluded to in commencing my remarks, may perhaps not be very familiar to you, though it is mentioned in the Bible : it is the city of Kadesh on Orontes. It was a very large city of the Hittites ; it is mentioned on the Assyrian monuments, and there are *bas reliefs* which represent this city with the Orontes flowing round it. Of all the translations that have been published, there is nothing more interesting than the account of the attacking of this great Hittite city, when Pharaoh was separated from his army, and the Hittites came out in large numbers and surrounded him in his

chariot, and the prayer he offered up is given in a remarkably striking piece of poetry. There is a description of how the Hittites came out and the Pharaoh drove them into the Orontes; but this monarch was suspected of great exaggeration as to his own prowess, and a little guilty of taking out the names of his predecessors from the marbles, and putting his name in in places where their adventures had resulted successfully.

The question was the position of the city. It is mentioned in the Bible as being on the north of the boundary of David's dominions. When he took his census of the population he went as far as Zidon on the north, and then stopped, for he had come into the district of some independent people mentioned as Hivites. The question was, where the city was to be found. It was to be found within five or six miles in every direction, but no one had exactly hit on the spot. Lieutenant Mantell and myself travelled up into the district, and learnt the names of every place we could; and one evening, in calling on one of the local authorities, they advised us to go to a place called Neby Mendeh, close by; they said, "there are some very important ruins you ought to look at."

This was an entirely unexpected piece of information, for I expected myself it was several miles further off. As I say, we heard the name from the authorities of the district, and we afterwards found that several other people had heard the name applied before to this very ruin, though they had not seen there was any great archæological value in the discovery. Not only did we find the name of the great Hittite city still remaining on the ground, but standing on the top of the great mound we could see the Orontes running round us; we could see the northern ditch shown on the Assryian marbles, and the bridge, in almost exactly the same position as they are shown on the *bas relief*, and we seemed to see the whole of the city almost as it was in the time of Rameses. We could trace exactly where the Egyptians came down from the mountains; we could see the Orontes into which he drove the Hittites on the occasion when the Prince of Aleppo was thrown into the water, as shown in one of the most curious portions of the *bas relief*. The attendants are shown holding him up by the legs and letting the water run out of his nose in order to restore him; but the inscription says he died.

Not only that, but we fancied we could find even the Hittites themselves on the ground. It was known the Hittites were a people belonging to the Mongol or Tartar races. On the Egyptian monuments they are represented with extremely different complexions, and with pigtails almost like the Chinese, and wearing a particular dress, such as is worn by the Turcomans in many cases to the present day; and when we got to the spot we found not only was there a race of fellaheen who represented the Assryians very much in the type of their countenances, but also a large Turcoman tribe living in the district. This was entirely an offshoot of our work, and was only undertaken to fill up time till we got our instru-

ments ; but it has been received at the British Museum as being one of the most interesting things the Society has yet found out.

As soon as we could we went into Moab, and began surveying there, and up in the north into the mountains of Gilead, and made some discoveries of the most interesting kind on the other side of Jordan. We made there one discovery which we had been disposed to hope we should make, but the extent and importance of it we were not at all prepared for : that is with regard to the rude stone monuments on the other side of Jordan. It had been found by Canon Tristram in passing through the country and making a map of that district, that there were a certain number of dolmens, something like those you find at Stonehenge, but we found over 700 of them altogether—some so large that a tall man could walk under them—consisting of two large stones with a table stone on the top ; and some so small that we should probably have passed them over if they had not been in connection with the large ones. The question was what these monuments were, who they were erected by, and whether they had any connection with Biblical history. There are, I believe, two parties with regard to these stone monuments : some believe they are the graves of ancient prehistoric people, and some believe they are the graves of very modern people, and others think they are ancient altars or places of worship.

There is, curiously enough, very good evidence on both sides of the question. There are instances in which such rude stone monuments are sepulchres, and instances in which it is almost equally clear they belong to large temples or altars. I think when you come to consider the subject, you will see it is rational both parties should be right, because the fact is these monuments represent, as it were, the architecture of the age. If a man wished to build a house, the only way he knew of building it was to erect these enormous blocks and cover them over with a flat roof formed by another stone. If he wished to build himself a grave he could only construct it of two rough stones—he would make a sort of stone box in which the corpse was placed ; and if he wished to construct an altar, in the same way he erected a table stone on large stone pillars.

With regard to the Moabite monuments which occur in such enormous numbers, I think there can be very little doubt they represent ancient places of sacrifice. We found instances in which there was very good reason to suppose they were altars. It was impossible in some cases that any grave could exist underneath ; in other cases there were cup-shaped hollows in the large table-stones at the top with channels connecting them, and the table-stone was carefully tilted in such a direction that anything poured on the stone would run down and be received in the hollows, and a study of the hollows and the channels connecting them led me to suppose they had been used as old places of libation—either libations poured on the stone, or sacrifices offered on the stone and the blood collected in the hollows. They appeared to be erected for such purposes, and in addition to that, curiously enough, the monuments occur in places mentioned in the Bible as being ancient places of sacrifice. That appears to be very strong confirmation of our view ; and it seems to me very interesting we should

discover these old monuments in the old Canaanite places of sacrifice. The first instance of importance was on the side of Mount Nebo ; there was there an erection of four stones, with a large flat stone something like 10 feet square placed on the top of them. There is no doubt it was artificial, and there were the cup-shaped hollows in the stone which seemed to indicate it had been used for libations. This was on the side of Mount Nebo ; and it struck us immediately that probably it was one of the places where Balaam had erected his altars. Balaam erected seven altars on Mount Nebo, but the altars were not on the very summit of the hill, because it is recorded Balaam left the king and went to the top of the hill, the king remaining apparently by his altar at a lower level ; and we found these altars on the side of the hill just below the highest point.

When we came further south we came upon groups of these monuments, and they also occurred in places where Balaam is supposed to have erected altars. I should not like to go so far as to say we have actually found the altars erected by Balaam : but the great number of them (in some cases there being three or four hundred of these stone monuments together) seems to me to suggest that on any important occasion a new altar was erected. I certainly think they are the sort of altar that is likely to have been erected at that time.

When we went to the north we found a very interesting one which is mentioned as the iron bedstead of King Ogg, but that I think is hardly a correct translation. It seems to me it should rather be translated the throne bedstead, or the Prince's Throne.

Then what is still more interesting is that during the Princes' Tour we came quite unexpectedly on another group of these ancient monuments on the site of the city of Dan. Dan was one of the cities where Jeroboam restored the ancient Canaanite worship of the calf. The site of Dan is quite undisputed, and it is one of the few sites in Palestine almost certain. These rude stone monuments were standing on the hill-side above the place where Jeroboam's temple of the calf must have stood. Not only that, but these monuments differed somewhat from those in Moab : they were smaller, and made of hard black basalt, whilst many had been purposely overthrown. I went over them carefully with Mr. Dalton, the Princes' Governor, and he was of opinion they were rude stone monuments, that they had been purposely overthrown, and had been in some cases slashed with hammers or broken to pieces ; and when we read how those altars were thrown down and destroyed, I cannot help thinking but that in those rude stone monuments we had come upon the remains of a great destruction of the idolatrous altars in the time of Josiah. Another curious feature that has puzzled many writers is that of the rude stone monuments found on the east side of Jordan, not a single example has been found on the west side of Jordan. We have found some cup-shaped hollows, but not a single monument remains to the present day. As you go northwards to Gilead, you find a few of the monuments still remaining on the hill-side. Still it is very interesting to find what we have done, the stones with cup-shaped hollows which I mentioned before as being

probably used as places of libation, and others overthrown or "pushed over," that being the meaning of the word used in the Bible. These old stone monuments exist in many places mentioned in the Bible, and therefore I think we may really say we have discovered the altars of the Canaanites. This will throw a great deal of light on the study of the Bible; but much work remains to be done on the east side of Jordan. Some of the most interesting places mentioned in the earlier books of the Bible are yet to be found, and there is also a great deal of work in the north that will throw light, I feel sure, if it can only be done, upon the early Christian settlements in the country.

As regards the work still to be done in Palestine, I consider there is some extremely important work remaining to be done, though I think the work of the past year far from unimportant. As regards the discovery of the city of the Hittites, I may say it is regarded as one of the most important archæological discoveries that have been made of late years. It is now exercising the minds of the great scientific authorities at the British Museum. To a great extent the land of the Hittites has been surveyed, the monuments which were thrown down have been found, and measurements too have been made of them; but there is one thing we have not got—we have not got the key to their language. However, we do not despair, and hope to be able to discover that.

The work before us is full of interest, and if we can only succeed in removing the scruples of the Turks, we shall get on very well. I hope, myself, for many reasons, that the Princes' visit may be advantageous towards our obtaining some assistance in that direction.

THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

In reference to the above subject brought forward by "Clericus" in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, I should like to ask him for a better authority than the one quoted (Acts vii, 15, 16) respecting the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs. Why may not St. Stephen in speaking of their being transferred be understood to mean from Shechem to Hebron? is there any positive reason (assuming that they were moved) that it was as he states from Hebron to Shechem? The words in that passage, that give Abraham as the purchaser of the ground, are incorrect; he purchased the cave of Machpelah of Ephron, the son of Zohar (Gen. xxiii). Jacob bought ground at Shechem of the children of Hamor (Gen. xxxiii). The word Abraham, though given in ancient MSS., is by commentators supposed to be an interpolation by an early transcriber.

Turning to Josephus ("Ant.," II, viii, 2), we read respecting the death of Joseph and his brethren, "Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as to

the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath."

We thus have, first on the authority of Scripture, the proof that Abraham bought land at Hebron, and that he, with Sarah ; Isaac and Rebekah ; and Jacob and Leah were here buried. Also that Jacob bought land at Shechem in which Joseph was buried.

Secondly, on the authority of Josephus the above is confirmed, and Hebron is claimed as the burial place of the sons of Jacob ; a Mohammedan tradition asserts that Joseph was removed from Shechem to Hebron, his tomb is shown in the Cave of Machpelah, a plan of the Cave may be seen in "Those Holy Fields," by the Rev. S. Manning, marking the positions of the seven graves.

The above will, I think, appear clear by the revised version : "Himself, (Jacob,) and our fathers ; (his sons ;) and they were carried." Jacob we know was taken alone to Hebron by all his sons—they—our fathers, his sons, may be assumed to have been taken at one time (Joseph excepted), to Canaan and buried either at Shechem or Hebron, I think at the latter place ; but if it may be allowed that they were first buried at Shechem, then at a subsequent date removed to Hebron, both St. Stephen and Josephus will be correct.

T. Forster.

Your correspondent, Mr. Forster, asks for a better authority than St. Stephen's language in Acts vii, 15, 16, for the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs from Hebron to Shechem.

Commentators doubtless assume that the passage, as we have it, is inaccurate. The MSS., however, all agree in asserting the sepulchre at Shechem was bought by Abraham. We have no choice, therefore, but to accept it, and must take it as an inspired statement.

There were in fact three distinct purchases :—

Purchase A, by Abraham, Gen. xxiii, 16, 17 ; xlix, 30

A field, *ἀγρός*, and a cave, *σπήλαιον*.	For 400 shekels.	At Machpelah.	At Ephron.

Purchase B, by Abraham, Acts vii, 15, 16.

A sepulchre, *μνήμεα*.	For a sum of money.	"At Shechem" Revisers, *τοῦ Συχέμ*.	Of the sons of Hamor.

Purchase C, by Jacob, Gen. xxxiii, 19 ; Josh. xxiv, 32.

A parcel of ground, *ἡ μέρις τοῦ ἀγροῦ*.	For 100 pieces of silver, *ἀγενῶν*.	At Shechem.	Of the sons of Hamor.

At C Joseph's bones were laid.

Since we know the Patriarchs were originally laid in A, St. Stephen's language must mean, I think, they were transferred to B.

As regards Josephus, he states no doubt Joseph's brothers were buried at Hebron, "Ant.," II, viii, 2. His silence as to the removal of their bodies cannot surely be set against St. Stephen's statement that it did take place; any more than his saying ("Jewish War," IV, ix, 7) that "the monuments of Abram's posterity are to this day shown in Hebron, of excellent marble and of most elegant workmanship." Perhaps the monuments remained, although the bodies were removed.

I readily admit the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs is very mysterious. Who carried it out, and when, and why he did so, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Moreover, so far as we know from Genesis, Abraham was not at Sichem more than once (ch. xii, 6, 7), and did not then make the purchase St. Stephen mentions. And further, Josephus asserts ("Ant.," XII, vi, 7) that not only Abraham, but his descendants, built themselves sepulchres at Hebron.

On the other hand, regarding St. Stephen's language as inspired, and observing an absolute agreement of the MSS. in Acts vii, 15, 16, I hold to my opinion that the bodies were transferred from Hebron to Shechem: *μετετέθησαν*, translati sunt, Vulgate. And I repeat my suggestion, that search should be made at Shechem, not at Joseph's Tomb, now shown near Jacob's Well, but elsewhere.

CLERICUS.

September 12th, 1882.

I CANNOT understand how "Clericus" (p. 177) can make out from Acts vii, 15 and 16, "that the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were *transferred* from Hebron to Shechem."

In those verses, no mention is made of Hebron at all, but "Egypt," into which "Jacob went down, and died," is evidently the locality whence "he and our fathers" "were carried over."

This *carrying over* is surely the same as spoken of in *contemplation*, in Genesis xlvii, 30, where Jacob gives the charge to Joseph, followed by Genesis xlix, 29-31, where he renews it to the patriarchs; and in *execution*, in Genesis l, 12, 13, where the fulfilment of Jacob's desire is described.

The other *carrying over*, viz., of Joseph, which *was* to Shechem, was likewise a carrying over from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, and not at all a translation from Hebron or any other place of sepulture in Canaan.

Has not "Clericus" noticed that the wording of verse 16 in our version must be erroneous?

For this reason, that the "parcel of ground" at Sychem was bought by

Jacob, not by Abraham, while the "sepulchre which Abraham bought" was purchased from the "sons of Heth," and not from "the sons of Emmor, *the father* of Sychem!"

In the text, the two places, purchasers and sellers are mixed up, but yet there is, I venture to think, no room for any transference from Hebron to Shechem.

H. B. S. W.

MIZPEH.

"A city set on a hill cannot be hid."

To reject Neby Samwîl as the site of Mizpeh, because it is not close to the great north road, and to place this city, so famous in sacred history, on any other hill in the Holy Land, seems to me to be straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel.

The topographical notices of Mizpeh, instead of being vague, as might at first sight appear, prove on careful examination to be so distinct that I would defy even the discoverer of the philosopher's stone to point out any spot, except the hill of Neby Samwîl, that satisfies the five following conditions required by the Bible and I Maccabees :—

1. Mizpeh was in Benjamin, and on a hill, as is implied in its name, which means "the watch-tower."
2. It was "over against," *i.e.*, in sight of Jerusalem.
   Further, it was in such a position :—
3. That it made a desirable fortress for Judah against Israel, when Asa dismantled Ramah.
4. That Ishmael on leaving Mizpeh, "to go over to the Ammonites," *naturally* passed near "the great waters that are in Gibeon."
5. That from Mizpeh Ishmael could without difficulty meet the eighty pilgrims on their way from near Shiloh to Jerusalem.

After fortifying Neby Samwîl on these five points, I invited an attack (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 91), and hoped that any assailant would direct his line of fire right on my position ; but the demonstration made against Neby Samwîl (p. 258) ends only in smoke. For while Captain Conder both urges that Jer. xli, 5–7 has been the main objection, and adds that the notices of Mizpeh are "so vague that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have been applied," he makes no attempt whatever to show *how* Neby Samwîl fails to satisfy any one of the necessary conditions, or *how* any other place fufils them.

It is not desirable to allow the spoilers thus to disquiet the country, and therefore we are obliged to descend from "the watch-tower," and by

cutting them off in whatever places they may be found, to show how each has swallowed the camel in whole or part.

(*a.*) In Sinai and Palestine it is said that Scopus immediately north of Jerusalem "meets every requirement of the notices of Mizpeh;" but while quoting Jer. xli, 6, Dr. Stanley overlooks the context, which enforcing condition 4, makes it impossible for Mizpeh to have been at Scopus.

For Ishmael (Jer. xli, 10) departed to go over to the Ammonites, and could not thus in going *eastwards* from Scopus pass near the great waters of Gibeon, which are more than two miles *west* of the longitude of the former place. Josephus it is true in this passage substitutes Hebron for Gibeon; but being more imaginative than observant, he also elsewhere interchanges these places, stating in his "Antiquities" that Asahel was slain in the battle at Hebron. The same condition is equally fatal to the suggestion about the high place of Nob (at whatever point that place can have been on the road to Jerusalem from Geba), and indeed to any position on the Mount of Olives.

Some unable to swallow the whole camel, cut it into two by supposing that the Mizpeh of Samuel and that of Jeremiah were two distinct places. This Alexander-like stratagem may be shown, however, to be equally ineffectual.

(*b.*) Umm Saffa has been proposed (1876, p. 171) as a "very suitable position for the Mizpeh of Jeremiah, being on the road from Samaria to Jerusalem." It seems, however, to be five miles distant from that road, near Ain el Haramiyeh; to be quite out of sight of it; and being many miles north of Bethel, to be in the kingdom of *Israel*, and therefore in a position quite impossible for the Mizpeh fortified by Asa, King of *Judah* (Jer. xli, 9).

(*c.*) Again it has been proposed to place the Mizpeh of Samuel at Sôba or (D) at Karbet Shûfa, making it in both cases distinct from the Mizpeh of later times, but unfortunately for these suggestions, the Maspha (*i.e.*, Mizpeh) of I Macc., iii, 46.: "The place where they prayed aforetime in Israel," was obviously the Mizpeh of 1 Sam. vii, and was also "over against" Jerusalem. Since this last characteristic has not been claimed for either Sôba or Khurbet Shûfa, I conclude is has no existence in either case.

Thus these five conditions seem to me to make "a heap for ever" of all rival places, and Neby Samwîl alone remains to be identified with Mizpeh.

Simply stated, the problem in this: To find a hill top, south of the latitude of Ramah, north of that of Jerusalem, and not east of the longitude of the waters of Gibeon, which is visible from Jerusalem, and also suitable for a fortress, and commands a good view of the north road.

Here we may say, "solvitur ambulando," any one at Jerusalem may settle the question for himself in a five minutes' walk. If only one place satisfies all these conditions, as Neby Samwîl does, that place *must* be Mizpeh. Let us therefore "rest and be thankful," and have no misgivings because the ancient name is now wanting. Perhaps in forty years some

educated Gibeonite will say that Neby Samwîl was also called Shûja, or even Mizpah.

For had not Dr. Robinson, while forced, not by luck, but by discrimination, to assign as the probable site of Ai the place with ruins south of Deir Diwan, also to make this sad admission: "The name, however, has utterly perished. We inquired digilently after it throughout the whole region, but without finding the slightest trace?" And now forty years after we have the name Kh. Haiyan applied to this very spot, which after Mr. Trelawney Saunders' explanation about *the valley* (*ge*), seems to me without question to represent the long lost Ai. Supply will finally overtake demand as to names in Palestine; so that too much importance must not be attached to the absence or even presence of any ancient name, especially after it has been often advertised for, as is the case with Ai.

W. F. B.

EBENEZER.

After Mizpeh comes Ebenezer, which seems to me to fix itself beyond question (as already noticed, 1881, 100) at Kh. Samwîl, one mile south of Neby Samwîl. As however this site is viewed with suspicion, and the early Christian site at Deir Abân, supported by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is adopted in preference by Captain Conder, it is desirable to demolish the claims of this rival site by sifting the notices about Ebenezer.

Deir Abân is two miles east-south-east of Ain Shems (Bethshemesh), and twelve miles west-south-west of Mizpeh.

M. Ganneau thinks that the name refers to the great stone (*eben*) in the field of Joshua (1 Sam., vi, 18.) If so the name must have moved at least two miles to the east, as the princes of the Philistines only went "unto the border of Bethshemesh." He also is of opinion that the Ark was restored at the very same place at which it was captured, and that therefore Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, which he takes to have been the limit of the pursuit of the Philistines (1 Sam., vii, 12).

But (1) The battle near Ebenezer was, however, apparently an attempt of Israel to free themselves from the Philistines (1 Sam. iv, 1, 9), and would therefore be more probably fought in the heart of the country, like the battle of Michmash, than at the foot of the hills near Bethshemesh.

(2) Ebenezer was between Mizpeh and Shen (1 Sam. vii, 12). This is a common Biblical way of describing a position:—"Between Bethel and Ai" (Gen. xiii, 3) was a distance of two or three miles; "between Ramah and Bethel" (Judg. iv, 5) five miles; between "Zorah and Eshtael" (Judg. xiii, 25; xvi, 31) two miles, if the latter be at Eshna. In these cases "between" is certainly of use in fixing the position of the particular

spot referred to. But as Mizpeh is *twelve* miles from Deir Aban, then if the latter represented Ebenezer it would have been very unlike Biblical exactitude to have described it as between Mizpeh and Shen: for some place *nearer* than the latter would assuredly have been named. For instance, if Kirjath-jearim had been (which it was not) at Kh. Erma, why not have said that Ebenezer was between that city and Bethshemesh? The distance between the two is just four miles, while Deir Abân is half-way between the two and only half-a-mile out of the direct line.

Further, Captain Conder in support of his view that Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, brings forward the existence of other required names in its neighbourhood. He proposes to identify Mizpeh with Kh. Shûfa; Beth-Car with 'Akûr, and Kh. el Haj Hasan, two miles west of Surah (Zorah) with Shen. But again there is a serious objection to these identifications. Deir Abân is more than two miles south of the line joining his proposed sites for Beth-Car and Mizpeh; and again why should a more distant place be chosen when the weli known Zorah was two miles nearer, and exactly on the same line? Besides we have shown that Mizpeh was not at Kh. Shûfa, and no importance need be attached to the name Deir Abân, as it occurs elsewhere, *e.g.*, six miles west of Samaria and a mile north of a village called Shûfeh.

Ebenezer has apparently been placed at the foot of the hills, because the expression, "*Hitherto* hath the Lord helped us," has been wrongly taken to mean, *up to the point where the men of Israel ceased to pursue the Philistines.*

"Hitherto" seems to me rather to signify, "up to this day," unless it can simply mean "here," the spot where the Philistines were first discomfited by the storm.

The Philistines would naturally approach Neby Samwîl from the south, and also flee in the same direction.

The examples of the use of "between" given above, would lead us to place Shen from two to five miles' distance from Mizpeh, and we actually find a place called Deir Yesin (answering well to the Hebrew Ha-shen) *three miles south* of Neby Samwîl; while further down the valley along which the routed army must have fled, there is an eminence with the name Airo Kârim, resembling Beth-Car. Farther, Kustril, an old Roman castellum, "a fortress like village," three and a half miles south-west of Neby Samwîl, answers well in position, distance and name, to the Aphek (fortress) where the Philistines encamped when Israel pitched beside Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv, 1).

Two miles south of Mizpeh the Philistines in their flight would reach the valley, so that Ebenezer must have been somewhere near this line of two miles. It is a most remarkable circumstance that on or close to this line, just a mile from Neby Samwîl, and on no other side of the hill, we meet with the name Khurbet Samwîl, or the *ruin of Samuel*, a very probable name to be given to a memorial erected by the prophet, just as the cairn of stones at Ras es Sherijah raised by Captain Conder has been named by the natives "Captain's Cairn."

This indefatigable explorer thinks, however (1881, 258) that the ruin Kh. Samwîl got its name from the hill Neby Samwîl, and not the hill from the ruin. Why so? The name of Samuel was certainly attached to the hill in the fourth century, as in the time of Procopius the convent of St. Samuel stood there. Had the name of Ramah suggested that of Samuel, then the title ought to have been attached to Er Ram. The name of Mizpeh cannot have attached that of Samuel to Neby Samwîl, for the early Christians (as Captain Conder points out) placed it near Deir Abân, probably at Kh. Shûfa.

The only explanation that can be given for this conspicuous hill having at so early a date acquired the name of Samuel, is that "the stone of help" on the southern slope preserved in some form or legend the name of the prophet, and subsequently gave it to the summit of the hill. Thus there seems to be every reason for regarding the ruin called Kh. Samwîl as marking the site of the world-wide Ebenezer.

I may point out that Captain Conder's experience leads him to this conclusion (1881, 271), "the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, *ruins* and springs . . . . the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost."

He further adds (p. 152 *supra*), "the names of hills and valleys, as a rule, are either purely descriptive, or else taken from the village, ruin or spring." Precisely so, therefore I maintain that Neby Samwîl got its name from Kh. Samwîl, and the latter monument was so called from Ebenezer, Samuel's great monument.

W. F. B.

THE HIGH PLACE AT GIBEON.

As Neby Samwîl undoubtedly represents Mizpeh, it is impossible for it to have been what is commonly called "the high-place of Gibeon." Mizpeh and Gibeon were (1) distinct places (Josh. xviii, 25, 26; Neh. iii, 7), and (2) more than a mile apart, separated by a wide valley, and the great high place is always in the Bible said to have been *at* Gibeon, which would have been a curious way of describing a spot situated *not* at Gibeon, but at a distance in another no less well known city.

W. F. B.

HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

IV. The Rock Rimmon.

This has been already treated of (p. 50 *supra*), but I gladly reply to the remaining objections urged by Captain Conder.

1. "Six hundred men cannot have lived in the cave (p. 156) four months without ventilation" (1881, 250). But the cave is *not* without ventilation. Mr. Rawnsley reported that in the cave "the wind well nigh blew our torches out." Perhaps it will now be objected that the cave is too draughty. If it is meant that "they cannot have remained in it for four months *without ever coming out*, then I ask, who ever supposed they did? The cave was *only a hiding place*, and yet it allows more square feet per man than is required for each child in an elementary school.
2. "It is not mentioned in the Bible." Neither is the making of Jacob's well at Sychar mentioned in Genesis.
3. So far is Gesenius from stating or implying that *sela* does not mean a precipitous rock, that (as observed or unobserved by Captain Conder) he actually suggests the identity of the *Rock* Rimmon with Saul's *Migron* (precipice).

The solitary objection that "the Hebrew word (*sela*) has not the meaning of precipice," is in direct contradiction to Captain Conder's own writings previous to, simultaneous with, and subsequent to this objection on page 248; *e.g.*:—

(*a*) "Joktheel (*cliff* of). 2 Kings xiv, 7 = Selah." "Handbook," 416.

(*b*) "The south *cliff* of the Michmash valley." (1 Sam. xiv, 4, *sela*) p. 248.

(*c*) In this passage the Bible gives the title of *the sela* to both the northern and southern sides of this gorge, but Captain Conder in his interesting report applies to them the terms of *cliff* or *precipice* no less than *thirty-three times* in seven pages (247—253).

4. Lastly, his too exacting canon (p. 151) would make the identification of the Rock Rimmon with the cliff in Wâdy Suweinit near the cave of El Jai into a vague conjecture, "unless the ancient name can be proved still to exist." It will therefore be satisfactory to all concerned, to see Mr. Rawnsley's vindication (177) of Rummân (Rimmon) as a genuine name and above suspicion. It is probably by this time that Benjamin's stronghold is still, as of yore, a most dangerous place to attack.

W. F. B.

6th July, 1882.

VARIETIES.

The Garrison. Captain Conder's proposal (p. 141 *supra*) to make Jonathan into an iconoclast, does not seem to me to be borne out by the passages referred to.

נציב not מצבה (as quoted by that writer) is the Hebrew word used for *garrison* in 1 Sam. xiii, 3, 4: "Jonathan smote the garrison in Geba;" and in xiv, 14: "There was a slaughter of twenty men." In 15 it is said "the *garrison* trembled;" surely the vibrations of a pillar cannot here be recorded. Bones not stones are doubtless what Jonathan broke on both sides of the passage of Michmash.

Ai θ. On page 140 it is suggested that the great stone heap of *et Tell* may be the cairn raised over the body of the King of Ai. As however Ai was a small place (Josh. vii, 3) and Kh. Haiyan is nearly a mile from et Tell, the latter could hardly be described as being "at the entering in of the gate of the city," the place where the king's body was cast (viii, 29).

Mr. Trelawney Saunders points out that the valley south of Deir Diwan and not that on the north of it, is the *valley* (ge) of viii, 11, and thus he removes the difficulty hitherto attaching to the identification of Ai with Kh. Haiyan.

W. F. B.

THE SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS.

Who were buried in them?

David, the first King of Israel who reigned in Jerusalem, after his conquest of the Jebusite stronghold, is said (1 Chron. xv, 1) to have "made him houses" in the "city of David," an expression which has by some been thought to refer to these "sepulchres," where he and some of his successors found their last resting-places.

However this may be, the number of those who were buried in them has been referred to in the course of the controversy that has arisen over the actual position of these so-called "tombs of the kings," and has apparently been a matter of uncertainty.

In the hope, therefore, of settling this particular question, I have brought together, in a succinct form, all the direct statements which are made in Scripture respecting the various Kings of Judah, as follows:—

1 Kings	ii, 10,	David	slept with his fathers	and was buried	his father.
1 „	xi, 43,	Solomon		„ „	„ „
2 Chron.	ix, 31,	„		and he was buried	
1 Kings	xiv, 31,	Rehoboam		and was buried with his fathers	
2 Chron.	xii, 16,	„		and was buried	
1 Kings	xv, 8,	Abijam		and they buried him	
2 Chron.	xiv, 1,	Abijah		„ „	
1 Kings	xv, 24,	Asa		and was buried with his fathers	his father
2 Chron.	xvi, 13, 14	„		and they buried him in his own sepulchres which he had made for himself	
1 Kings	xxii, 50,	Jehoshaphat		and was buried with his fathers	his father.
2 Chron.	xxi, 1,	„		„ „ „	
2 Kings	viii, 24,	Joram		„ „ „	
2 *Chron.*	*xxi*, 20,	(*Jehoram*)		*they buried him*	*but not in the sepulchres of the Kings.*
2 Kings	ix, 27, 28	(Ahaziah)		and buried him in his sepulchres with his fathers	
2 *Chron.*	*xxiv*, 16,	(*Jehoiada*)		*and they buried him*	*among the Kings.*
2 *Kings*	*xii*, 20, 21	(*Joash*)	*died*	*and they buried him with his fathers*	

IN THE CITY OF DAVID

2 *Chron.* *xxiv*, 25,	(*Joash*)	*died*	*and they buried him*	IN THE CITY OF DAVID.	*but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the Kings.*
2 *Kings* *xiv*, 20,	(*Amaziah*)		*and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers*		
2 *Chron.* *xxv*, 28,	(„)		*and buried him with his fathers*		(*or, Judah*).
2 Chron. xxvi, 23,	Uzziah	slept with his fathers	and they buried him with his fathers		in the field of the burial which *belonged* to the Kings.
2 Kings xv, 7,	Azariah		„ „ „	IN THE CITY OF DAVID	his father.
2 Kings xv, 38,	Jotham		and was buried with his fathers		
2 Chron. xxvii, 9,	„		and they buried him		
2 Kings xvi, 20,	Ahaz		and was buried with his fathers		
2 Chron. xxviii, 27,	„		and they buried him		in the city *even* in Jerusalem; but they brought him not into the *sepulchres of the Kings* of Israel.
2 Chron. xxxii, 33,	Hezekiah		„ „		in the chiefest (ascenth) of the sepulchres of the sons of David.
2 Kings xxi, 18,	Manasseh		and was buried		in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza.
2 Chron. xxxiii, 20,	„		and they buried him		in his own house.
2 *Kings* *xxi*, 26,	(*Amon*)		*and he was buried*		*in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza.*
2 „ *xxiii*, 30,	(*Josiah*)		*and buried him*		*in his own sepulchre.*
2 *Chron.* *xxxv*, 24,	(„)		*died, and was buried*		*in one of* (*marg. among*) *the sepulchres of his fathers.*

A careful comparison of the parallel expressions used will, I think bring into prominence several interesting points.

Thus it will be found that the phrase "slept with his fathers" is only used of those kings whose end was peaceful.

Those of whom it is not used, which are distinguished by the passages being in *italic* type,[1] all met their deaths by violence.

All the kings, from David to Ahaz inclusive, as well as Jehoiada the priest, are said to have been buried in the "city of David," but it is also distinctly stated that three of these, Jehoram, Joash, and Ahaz, were not buried in the "sepulchres of the kings," and the same may be presumed of Uzziah, who, on account of his having been a leper, was interred in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings.

In regard to Hezekiah, who appears by the authorised version to have been laid in the "chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David," but is not said to have been interred in the "city of David," it seems probable that the alternative rendering of "in the ascent to," etc., is the more correct, and may point to a different place of sepulture from the actual "sepulchres of the kings."

The words used of Manasseh, "in his own house," may, perhaps, be comparable with "in his sepulchres" of Amon, and Josiah's burial "in his own sepulchre."

H. B. S. W.

THE HOLY ANOINTING OIL.

On page 105 of Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," occurs the statement that the preparation of the Holy Anointing Oil "was performed only once in the whole history of the nation, the curse of Keritoth, or penal death, being held (Ex. xxx, 33) to apply to its repetition, even in extreme need." Also on page 106, line 6, it is said, "the holy oil failed in the reign of King Josiah."

What authority is there for these statements? None is given, while in Smith's Bible Dictionary, article "Ointment," page 597, we are told that the rabbinical writers said that it lasted 900 years, *i.e.*, to the Captivity; and 2 Kings xxiii, 30, actually records the anointing of one king later than Josiah, viz., his son Jehoahaz.

Then too, the mode of interpreting Exodus xxx, 32, 33, as being intended to apply to the mere *repetition* of the composition of the oil, though for the same holy uses as it was first made for, instead of (as usually understood) as applying to its manufacture by any of the people and for common use, seems to require confirmation, and appears to be contrary to the

[1] See passages tabulated.

statement in 1 Chron. ix, 30, that "some of the priests made the ointment of the spices," as well as to the analogous case of the holy incense (Ex. xxx, 34, 35), respecting which an identical prohibition is given (in verse 37), and the same penalty is denounced (in verse 38).

If, as is well known, the making of the incense was frequently repeated by duly authorised persons, the prohibition, which applied to both, cannot rightly be held, in the case of the holy oil, to mean that no more of it was to be made under any circumstances.

Yours truly,
H. B. S. W.

September 26th, 1881.

THE CROMLECHS OF CORNWALL AND MOAB.

August 22nd, 1882.

HAVING taken great interest in the account of cromlechs and circles recently discovered by the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I send you a brief description of some of the principal in Cornwall, which I have taken the measurement of. They appear to me to claim a close relationship with those discovered at Amman and Minyeh.

I. The Trethevy Cromlech near Liskeard.

This cromlech has three supporting stones, whose respective heights are —9 feet, 7 feet 6 inches, and 5 feet 3 inches. There are also three huge stones abutting against the supporters. In the interior is a flat stone 6 feet in length, in a slanting position, on a bed of slate rock. The cover stone is 13 feet 9 inches long, 8 feet 6 inches wide ; the thickness varying from 16 to 22 inches. At the north-east corner of this stone is a small round hole about 6 inches in diameter, whether artificial or not is uncertain.

Within two miles of this, on Linkinhorn Downs, are three stone circles, called the Hurlers. They lie from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The northernmost circle is 120 feet in diameter, the centre 144 feet in diameter, and the southern 100 feet in diameter. The stones are about 18 inches in thickness, 24 inches wide, and stand 4 feet 6 inches above ground. Several of the stones are fallen. About 60 yards westward of these circles are two large upright stones, which may have formed part of an avenue or approach.

II. The Lanyon Cromlech in the parish of Madron.

This has three supporting stones—two at one end, and one at the other, each of these being about 4 feet 6 inches in height. The cover stone is 16 feet 8 inches long ; the form is irregular, but the width across the centre is 8 feet 6 inches. It is 18 inches in thickness, and its girth is 47 feet.

III. The Zennor Cromlech is about one mile from Zennor Church, on the summit of a granite strewn hill, looking out on the sea.

This cromlech is probably the most gigantic in Europe. The stone

forming the south support is 9 feet high, and 11 feet wide at the base. The stone on the north side is 7 feet high, 4 feet 6 inches wide at the base, average thickness 15 inches.

A smaller stone on the same side is 3 feet 6 inches in height, and 4 feet 3 inches wide at the base. The stone at the east end is 8 feet 6 inches high, and 4 feet wide at the base. The stone at the west end, serving as a barrier to the entrance, is 4 feet high and 3 feet broad. Stones separate from the former, and at the east end, height 6 feet 6 inches, width at base 11 feet; and a smaller one 3 feet in height. The cover stone is 17 feet long, 9 feet broad, and 16 inches thick. The area enclosed by the supporting stones is about 6 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. The cover stone has unfortunately slipped from its uprights, its west end now resting on the ground.

IV. The Chywoon or Chûn Cromlech, in the parish of St. Just, and about five miles from Penzance, and considered to be the most perfect specimen in England.

It has four large supporting stones, two of which are 8 feet in height, the others between 5 and 6 feet in height. The cover stone is a rough slab of hard grained granite. It is 12 feet long, 11 feet wide in the centre, and varying from 14 inches to 2 feet in thickness. The measurement within is 6 feet by 4 feet.

Tregascal Circle, also in the parish of St. Just. It is 66 feet in diameter. The stones are 18 inches wide, 11 inches thick, and about 3 feet in height.

I think it very probable that these cromlechs, &c., were in the first instance erected by the Phœnicians, who traded thither from a very early period, and that afterwards they were erected by the ancient Britons in various parts of the kingdom as we now find them. Doubtless they were sacrificial altars, many of them at an after day being made available as burying places for chiefs among the people.

G. W. Phillips.

THE CUBICAL STONES OF MOAB.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, Lieutenant Conder suggests that the cubical stones found in Moab, of which a representation is given on p. 72, are identical with the Asheroth of the Bible. Permit me to draw attention to a few passages which are in, at least apparent, opposition to that view.

Deut. xvi, 25: "Thou shalt not set up an Asherah of any tree near to the altar of the Lord which thou shalt make to thyself. Neither shalt thou rear a pillar, which the Lord thy God hates."

Judges vi, 25: "Thou shalt overthrow the altar of Baal, which belongs to thy father, and cut down the Asherah which is by it, . . . and

thou shalt offer up a burnt-offering out of the wood of the Asherah, which thou shalt cut down. . . . And the men of the city rose up early in the morning, and behold, Baal's altar was broken to pieces, and the Asherah which was by it cut down."

2 Kings xviii, 4: "He removed the high places, and broke in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherah."

These passages all seem to imply that the Asherah was made of wood, and not of cubical shape. If it was of stone, why was it ordered to be "cut down," while the altar of Baal was to be "broken?" and why, when Gideon had executed the command, does the narrative itself make the same distinction? In speaking of Hezekiah, the very same word is used in connection with the Asherah, while שִׁבֵּר is used instead of כִּתֵּץ, with, of course, the same meaning, with reference to the pillars. But the injunction in Deuteronomy not only implies the possibility of the Asherah being made of wood, but suggests that it was *only* made of wood. Can we imagine that the Law-Giver, knowing that an idolatrous object of worship was made both of wood and stone, would have said to the people, "Thou shalt not make it of wood?" Would not that imply that they might make it of stone?

Again, as to the shape. The passages are not decisive on the point, but I think they are rather against its being cubical. I do not see how it is possible to speak of "cutting down" a stone 8 feet long and 3 feet high, or even one 3 feet 4 inches long and 3 feet 6 inches high. On the other hand, in Deut. xvi, 22, תָּקִים is used in reference to the "pillars," while תְּטַצֵּ֫ה is applied to the Asherah. The former word implies something higher than it is long or broad, while the latter is indefinite.

July 10th, W. E. S.